



The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary

Béla Zsolt Szakács

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The Visual World of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary



CENTRAL EUROPEAN CULTURAL HERITAGE

Volume I

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Series Technical Editor: Annabella Pál

Béla Zsolt Szakács

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Translator: Lara Strong

Copy Editor: Christopher Mielke

Cover design for the series by Sebastian Stachowski

Technical Editor: Sebastian Stachowski

Cover Illustration: detail of Fig. 78 *The temptation and consolation of Saint Anthony the Great* (page 203).

Joint publication by:

Cultural Heritage Studies Program

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Website: <https://medievalstudies.ceu.edu/chs>

Central European University Press

An imprint of the Central European University Limited Liability Company

Nádor u. 11, H-1051 Budapest, Hungary

Telephone: (+36-1) 327-3138, Fax: (+36-1) 327-3183

E-mail: ceupress@press.ceu.edu, Website: <http://www.ceupress.com>

400 West 59th Street, New York NY 10019, USA

Telephone (+1-732) 763-8816

E-mail: meszarosa@press.ceu.edu

The book was supported by the Fidelity Charitable Gift Fund and by the Hungarian Research Fund (OTKA, No. 81446).

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ISSN 2411-3689

ISBN 978-963-7326-25-7

Printed in Hungary by Prime Rate Kft.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Szakács, Béla Zsolt.

The visual world of the Hungarian Angevin legendary / Béla Zsolt Szakács.

pages cm. -- (Central European cultural heritage ; volume I)

Summary: "Dispersed in two continents, four countries and six collections; many of its pages were cropped, cut into four, or lost forever; its history, origin, commissioner and audience are obscure; still, in its fragmented state it presents fifty-eight legends in an abundant series of images, on folios fully covered by miniatures, richly gilded, using only one side of the fine parchment; a luxurious codex worthy of a ruler; a unique iconographic treasury of medieval legends; one of the most significant manuscripts of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom--these are all what we call the Hungarian Angevin Legendary"--Provided by publisher.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-6155225031 (hardback : alkaline paper)

1. Magyar Anjou Legendárium. 2. Illumination of books and manuscripts, Hungarian--History. 3. Illumination of books and manuscripts, Medieval--Hungary--History. 4. Visual communication--Hungary--History. 5. Art and religion--Hungary--History. 6. Saints--Legends--History and criticism. 7. Legends--Hungary--History and criticism. I. Title.

ND3385.M3S82 2015

745.6'709439--dc23

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Foreword to a New Series

Cultural Heritage in Central Europe

The borders of Central Europe are undefined and constantly changing in both geographical and political terms. At an intuitive level, there is a sense of this region being generally different from more well defined parts of Europe such as the Mediterranean world or Western Europe or even Scandinavia. There is something which may be defined, however, as culturally distinct about Central Europe. Scholars have long debated what comprises this special character of what might be loosely described as a historical region. Is this character connected to the interactions and continuous transformations of influences which arrived through a variety of media from the 'other' Europe or even unexpectedly from Central Asia. The combined impact of disparate political entities such as the Roman and Byzantine, the Mongol and the Ottoman, and the Russian and the German Holy Roman empires is not as evident in other parts of Europe as in this central and yet still peripheral region.

This fuzzy historical image is in stark contrast to clear notions of Central Europeanness which pervades popular ideas about centers of classical and modern music in the eighteenth to twentieth centuries. Whether we think about Mozart and Haydn in Vienna or Bartók and Kodály in Budapest, or Dvořák and Smetana in Bohemia it is immediately understood that the character of their music is firmly rooted in a definable place that can be called Central Europe. Literature is less simple although writers such as Franz Kafka, Imre Kertész, Milan Kundera and many others cannot be imagined outside the region and its obscure worlds filled with contradiction and

uncertainty. The culture of Central Europe represents an entity which is much less well defined but still keenly felt by the people experiencing, enjoying, struggling, and surviving life there. This lack of clarity in cultural identity is connected to gaps in continuity resulting from the collisions of outside forces or internal struggles which destroyed significant parts of the cultural heritage.

For this reason, it is extremely relevant that an educational institution calling itself the Central European University and its press should produce a new series that presents what might be described by people in the region as their cultural heritage. We intend to bring to this series a colorful palette of tangible and intangible heritage ranging from historical monuments, to cultural landscapes, from folk music to contemporary urban art, from traditional craftsmanship to industrial sites. These large format books will display the cultural heritage of Central Europe in both words and color images designed to manifest the value of objects and ideas which may be less well known outside this region. For that reason, the first volume in this series will be about the contested history and the visual power of a beautiful medieval illuminated manuscript, the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.

One of the main goals of this series is thus to give a rounded picture of a shared cultural heritage in the center of Europe together with its scholarly evaluation. The intention is to present a critical approach to the way this heritage emerged in the past, is protected in the present and may serve generations in the future.

Alice Choyke – József Laszlovsky

Preface and Acknowledgements

Dispersed in two continents, four countries and six collections, many of its pages were cropped, cut into four, or lost forever. Its history, origin, commissioner and audience are obscure. In its fragmented state it presents fifty-eight legends in an abundant series of images, on folios fully covered by miniatures and richly gilded, using only one side of the fine parchment. A luxurious codex worthy of a ruler; a unique iconographic treasury of medieval legends; one of the most significant manuscripts of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom – these are all what we call the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.

On the initiative of Gábor Klaniczay, I started my research on the manuscript some twenty years ago, within the framework of the research project ‘Visual Resources of Medieval East Central Europe’ launched at the Department of Medieval Studies at the Central European University in Budapest. First, in 1994 I created a database together with my colleagues, Tamás Sajó, Dénes Dósa, and some excellent students of the department. The database was presented in the International Medieval Congress in Leeds in 1994 and 1995 and at the Angevin conference organized by the École Française de Rome in the autumn of 1995. During this stay in Rome, I was honored with the privilege of investigating personally the greatest surviving portion of the codex by Leonard Boyle, director of the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. Supported by the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales, I carried out research in 1996 in Paris, examining the folio kept in the Louvre. Two years later I was

able to see the pages kept in New York. This research was extended during my stay in Florence at the Villa I Tatti (The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies) supported by the Andrew F. Mellon Foundation in 2000. For updating the English edition, I carried out research in the Warburg Institute in London in 2006. I am most grateful for all these persons and institutions.

The main text of the present volume was written as a doctoral thesis under the supervision of Ernő Marosi and defended in 1998. Beside my *Doctorvater*, without whose intensive support the dissertation would have never been completed as such, I wish to acknowledge the help of the external readers of the thesis, Tünde Wehli and József Török for their invaluable suggestions, as well as Miklós Boskovits, Edit Madas, Gyöngyi Török, Susan Urbach and many of my former professors, colleagues and friends for their advices. The present publication, based on the Hungarian edition of 2006 published by Balassi Kiadó, Budapest, was generously supported by the Fidelity Charitable Gift Fund on the initiative of Mel Seiden and the OTKA project ‘Communicating Sainthood – Constituting Regions and Nations in East-Central Europe’ led by Gábor Klaniczay. Lara Strong created an English version of the text which I hope will be more accessible than the Hungarian original. I am grateful to József Laszlovszky for taking this monograph to the new series and Annabella Pál and Christopher Mielke for their suggestions. It is my only wish that this book meets the expectations of everyone above.

Introduction

I.1. POSING THE QUESTION

Those who were privileged enough back in the fourteenth century to page through the codex known today as the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* [*Magyar Anjou Legendárium*] were probably interested in the identity of the saints they revered, their lives, and their accomplishments. For today's observers, however, the primary role of the now scattered pages of the codex is not to reveal information about the saints, but rather to tell us how people in the fourteenth century viewed them. One might wonder what points were taken into consideration in assembling this treasury of saints: how were the legends edited, and how were the various stories translated into the visual idiom? This book seeks to answer these questions through a study of the visual program of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.

The visual system of the codex is examined on three levels. First of all, we uncover which saints were chosen and what principles were used in making the selection and determining the sequence. In addition we see which types of saints were given preference; which saints gain prominence based on the number of pictures versus the amount of textual source material; how the saints were arranged in space and time; how this relates to their cults; and what characteristics this form reveals when compared to other similar collections.

On the second level, we scrutinize the legend cycles of various saints. Here the traditional methods of iconography are helpful in establishing which ways these picture stories relate to the written sources and the visual tradition. Through this analysis, it becomes clear which scenes are indispensable and which stand out because of their unique or unusual composition. It is also essential to analyze individual images, although the primary interest lies in the cycle as a whole and the impression it projects. Space is also allotted to investigating what principles of composition are used in building the cycles, what rhythm is produced by the succession of scenes, which parts of the legends become focal points, and which parts are cursorily dealt with. Also of possible interest is the number of pictures used to tell the story (are they more or less than what is usual?) and how this number relates to that found in other stories. Another question is how the course of events changes when a longer legend is presented: for example, the cycle of the apostle St James the Greater is divided into several sub-cycles with varying numbers of images. But in any given codex, the series of scenes has to conform to the distribution of pictures on a page, and we should keep in mind how the entire page is structured – are there conceptual or formal elements that unite the pictures on one page, and to what degree are these tools used consistently?

On the third level the elements of the various cycles, the images themselves, and also the recurring image

types are analyzed. The structure of typical scenes and the visual elements used to characterize certain situations is worth particular attention. The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* does not have a wide visual language. Depictions are composed of a limited number of symbolic elements. We look at what meanings the various elements are infused with, which motifs recur, and what role the different key scenes play within the entire legends as well as how this role differs in the legends of various types of saints. However, when comparing similar scenes found in the legends of different types of saints, it is not enough to only study the scene itself and its immediate context. Individual pictures can only be understood within the visual system of the codex – one scene explains another. What can better be discerned in one picture may render comprehensible the obscure elements of another. What deeper meaning the use of recurring visual formulas might have with respect to the entire codex is also important on a higher level. It is also worth noting how the makers of the codex strove to fit each image type into the textual passages of the legend: which image types were suitable to this objective and which presented obstacles? This process reveals the power or impotence of the various types. What is interesting here is what consequences the use of an established image type has with respect to the relationship of the given scene to the text and the iconographic tradition.

Thus the three tiers of questions outlined above have been constructed according to a hierarchical system. At the highest level is the examination of the entire codex with respect to the selection of saints and the general program. At the second level are the various legends and their arrangement: the selection of scenes in each legend is influenced by the iconographic program. At the third level the structure of the various image types and the selection of visual elements are analyzed. The second and third levels can be seen as two different approaches to the same material from two different perspectives: the

analysis of the series of pictures can be seen as a horizontal study of the stock of images, while the introduction of image types is vertical.

It is necessary to begin by fixing the boundaries of this investigation. The first point of departure is the current state of research (I.2), and its possibilities: how far can we go? In other words, what limitations does the fragmentary state of the codex create for further studies? (I.3–5) Once this has been established we can turn to the analysis of the codex's visual structure according to the three levels: by presenting the selection of saints (II), the legends (III) and the image types (IV).

After the system of images in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* has been analyzed on these three levels, in the last section the process in which the codex was created will be discussed, thereby setting into motion the systems hitherto statically described (V). Based on concrete observations, analogies and conclusions, I have attempted to reconstruct the process in which such a large-scale work could have been created: the assembly of images and their labeling can in fact be viewed as a contemporary interpretation, and from this point of view we can make some unique observations. With this higher level of thinking in mind, we can draw some conclusions based on what we have learned about the design of the program. With attention to the focal points of the compilation, we can also glean something of the circumstances in which the work was commissioned. Finally, an examination of the codex's existence, its aims, and function gives meaning to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* as both an object and undertaking.

I.2. RESEARCH HISTORY

Most scholars see the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* as a codex of inestimable value, but beyond that few have expressed similar opinions in the professional literature.

This is because we have scant information about certain aspects of this outstanding work. The codex has survived in fragmentary form, and the majority of what remains is bound in an eighteenth century volume in the Vatican. Some of the missing pages, often incomplete, have resurfaced only to disappear again throughout the world, finding their way into collections from the United States to Russia. We are not even certain if the illustrated pages we have are fully representative of the entire codex, or whether some parts might have been significantly different – perhaps pages of text or different arrangements of images.¹ There are no inscriptions in the eighteenth century volume or in any of the scattered pages that might tell us under what circumstances the codex was made, who the original owners were, and where or when the codex was executed. Moreover there are no sources, even later ones, related to the codex. The only conclusions we can draw are based solely on the surviving fragments and miniatures.

Regardless of these challenges, a great deal of literature on the codex has appeared in the last hundred years, since the first scholarly report on it was published (1910). Since 1916, when it became a topic of popular scholarly discussion in Hungary, researchers have examined the codex with greater frequency, while in the last few years scholars representing several branches of study have regularly returned to it. No summary of Hungarian art history can fail to mention it, and references to it are countless. At the same time the codex has also captured the attention of foreign scholars too, and their comments have stirred up even greater interest. These days considerable activity surrounds the codex. As more and more pages have been discovered in recent times the number of publications has multiplied. Nearly one century in the research history of the codex is outlined below, with attention to the mutual impact of various works; in addition some of the key problems are highlighted in order to demonstrate the variety of perspectives.

A survey of the professional literature

As far as we know, first news of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (a notebook containing 85 pictures from the former codex) appeared in print in 1896, in a London auction catalogue.² According to Meta Harrsen in 1933³ and Seymour de Ricci in his catalogue of American collections published in 1937,⁴ this material surfaced in the United States in New York's Pierpont Morgan Library in 1909. Harrsen published both the first thorough study of the entire codex and also the first independent book on the subject, in which she discusses the legendary alongside the Néksei Bible (1949).⁵ In Harrsen's 1958 catalogue of Central European material in the Morgan Library, she mentions yet another page,⁶ and three years later another leaf was purchased by the library.⁷

By this time the scholarly world had an idea of what kind of codex these scattered pages might have belonged to. As part of the early twentieth century hagiographical work carried out by the Bollandists, Alfred Poncelet prepared a catalogue of Latin codices dealing with saints in the holdings of the Vatican Library (1910).⁸ Here, he mentions a codex numbered Vat. lat. 8541, containing no hagiographic text, but significant because of its illustrations; thus he provides a list of the legends depicted. This basic publication (despite its flaws⁹ remains to this day an indispensable point of reference).

Unaware of the connection, Seymour de Ricci published two more pages from the codex in 1913 in the catalogue of the Léonce Rosenberg collection. He was unable to identify the subject-matter of one of the pages, but he did recognize St Francis in the images on the other. He published a picture of this latter page, making it the first photographed page from the codex to appear in print. For decades after the whereabouts of these pages were unknown until Gyöngyi Török located the St Francis page with an art dealer in New York.¹⁰ The page was later sold to the Metropolitan Museum in 1994.¹¹

Lajos Vayer found more pages in the Hermitage: four in 1957 and a fifth page in 1969. He published these jointly with Ferenc Levárdy in 1972.¹² Another lost page turned up more recently in the United States and was published by Julia Bader and George Starr in 1986.¹³ Finally in Paris (Louvre, Département des Arts Graphiques), a previously unknown page was found and published for the first time by Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt.¹⁴ Prior to this, Miklós Boskovits had stumbled upon a photograph of this page in the Villa i Tatti in Florence (The Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies) in the photo collection of Bernhard Berenson. He passed it on to Gyöngyi Török, who republished it.¹⁵

The first step-by-step scholarly treatment by a Hungarian of the known material was carried out by Lajos Karl. After reporting on Poncet's publication in 1916, he carried out a detailed analysis of the illustrated legends of Hungarian saints in an extensive study appearing in *Revue archéologique* in 1925.¹⁶ This work had a great impact both in Hungary and abroad, and even today it occasionally still serves as a reference.¹⁷ In 1929 Karl examined the iconography of saints connected to France, but the influence of this article was not as widespread.¹⁸ Hungarian scholarship, however, soon responded with a similar study of Hungarian saints: Cyrill Horváth in 1928¹⁹ and Pál Lukcsics in 1930²⁰ examined the codex in connection to the legend of St Ladislav, while Tibor Gerevich used pictures from the legendary in his iconography of St Emeric.²¹ Hungarian saints would serve as points of departure for research in later years too: Ernő Marosi in a study from 1973 discusses two approaches to the structure of the legend of St Ladislav,²² and later returns to his iconography.²³ One aspect of the Ladislav legend, the dual with the Cuman warrior, was the subject of Zsuzsa Lukács's and Gyula László's research too,²⁴ with a short treatment of the legend of St Ladislav by Terézia Kerny appearing in the appendices of László's work.²⁵ Hungarian saints formed a central part of the research of Tünde

Wehli as well: her work on saints canonized in 1083 was published in 1986, and another publication on St Stephen came out in 1994. She also mentions the codex in connection with the Mensola altar of St Emeric and in a lecture on St Gerhard.²⁶

Hungarian saints have not been the only lure for researchers to the vast iconographic treasure trove of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. In 1970 and 1973 Kauffmann used the codex as the closest iconographic analogy in his study of a Valencian altar of St George in the Victoria & Albert Museum.²⁷ The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* also appears in monographs on the iconography of various saints, although not as frequently as would be justified. Most notable are Dorsch's 1983 book on St George,²⁸ David-Daniel's 1958 study on the iconography of Sts Cosmas and Damian,²⁹ Huber's 1930 study,³⁰ Dubler's 1953 monograph³¹ on St Benedict, a catalogue accompanying an exhibit celebrating the 1500th anniversary of Benedict's death,³² and finally Edit Madas's article on St Benedict in the catalogue of the 1996 Pannonhalma exhibit.³³ The codex also appeared in the 1994 exhibit on St Mark in Venice and the exhibits on St Martin in 2006 and St Stephen of Hungary in 2013,³⁴ while the iconography of St Stanislaw has been important in Polish research.³⁵ In recent years interest in the codex in this respect has only increased. Laura Dal Prà³⁶ and Silvia Maddalo³⁷ used the codex in their studies on the iconography of St Bernard, Joanna Cannon³⁸ and Roberto Cobi-anchi³⁹ on the iconography of St Dominic, Antonio Iturbe⁴⁰ on the iconography of St Augustine, K. L. Jansen⁴¹ on the iconography of Mary Magdalene, and Charlotte Denoël⁴² on the iconography of St Andrew. Other motifs that appear in the codex such as devils and idols⁴³ or the figures in Eastern dress have attracted further interest.⁴⁴

Some researchers hoped a study of the codex would provide not only iconographic but hagiographic results, too. Thus, right from the start literary scholars and historians have also explored the codex (Lajos Karl, Cyrill

Horváth, and Pál Lukcsics, and more recently Edit Madas⁴⁵), and at the Vatican exhibit in Cologne in 1993⁴⁶ the codex was presented as an unusual legendary. The codex type has also served as a reference point for several Western scholars (G. Schmidt,⁴⁷ F. Bucher⁴⁸). It must be noted that knowledge of the codex among foreign scholars can generally be attributed to Meta Harrsen's book of 1949 – no other work has rivaled it in terms of influence, not even Levárdy's facsimile of 1973 (clearly for reasons of language and distribution).

Most art historians felt the need to determine the date and place of production of the codex. In 1929 the eminent art historian Tibor Gerevich made an attempt, and later Toesca in 1930, Dezső Dercsényi in 1941–42 in several studies, and Ilona Berkovits in 1938 and 1947. Among the Italian scholars, C. Gnudi (1972) and Conti (1979, 1981) also deserve mention. Finally Ferenc Levárdy, who for decades was the most well known expert in this area, carried out the most thorough investigation of the codex. His first writings were published in 1963 and later in 1964 in Hungarian and Italian.⁴⁹ In 1972 he published an article together with Lajos Vayer, but his most important undertaking was the publication of the facsimile in 1973 and 1975 (in Polish in 1978). In 1988 he returned to the subject in a brief but fundamental work, which appeared in an accompaniment to his publication of the Neksei Bible.⁵⁰ At the conference in Cortona in 1982 Lajos Vayer delivered a speech about the codex.⁵¹

Károly Mollay's publication of 1977⁵² contributed new facts to Levárdy's research, while several important studies by Tünde Wehli, appearing in part as catalogue entries, were later published in larger surveys.⁵³ The numerous new findings by Gyöngyi Török have also enriched research in this field.⁵⁴ The latest large-scale undertaking was the 1990 facsimile published by Belser publishing house, with the scholarly treatment of the codex conducted by Giovanni Morello, Heide Stamm, and Gerd Betz. The main virtue of this book is the clarification

of numerous codicological questions. In addition several scenes misidentified by Levárdy were correctly named and the Latin inscriptions were accurately transcribed and translated into German.⁵⁵

Around the year 2000 the codex once again became the focus of attention: first, it appeared in the exhibit of the National Széchényi Library entitled *Három kódex* (Three Codices),⁵⁶ and then in the following year it was displayed at the Hungarian exhibit at the Vatican⁵⁷ as well as at the Anjou exhibit in Fontevraud.⁵⁸ At the same time Gyöngyi Török published the pages discovered in Paris.⁵⁹

Even this brief survey reveals the wealth of viewpoints expressed in one hundred years of literature on this subject. In the following we can only address a few important questions concerning the style and age of the codex, its history, textual sources and iconographic system. But first we should discuss the naming of the codex.

The naming of the codex

The following title appears on the eighteenth century leather binding of the codex held in the Vatican: *Acta Sanctorum pictis imaginibus adornata*. In 1630 Giovanni Battista Saluzzo gave a similar title to the most prominent material from the codex bound in a small independent booklet: *Acta Jesu Christi et aliorum Sanctorum praeclaris imaginibus expressa*.⁶⁰ Meta Harrsen concluded from these similarities that the titles of both volumes were based on the original one.⁶¹

These seventeenth and eighteenth century names, however, did not enter common usage.⁶² Early publications did not even consider it important to give any kind of name to the codex, referring instead to the work as an illustrated manuscript from the Vatican,⁶³ an illustrated Latin manuscript,⁶⁴ and a *legendier historique*.⁶⁵ Tibor Gerevich was the first to call it a *leggendario ungherese*,⁶⁶ and later in 1930 an *úgynevezett vatikáni képes magyar*

legendarium (a so-called illustrated Hungarian legendary from the Vatican).⁶⁷ But the reference to Hungary was generally omitted, and instead the phrase *an illustrated legendary from the Vatican*, referring to the nature and location of the codex, prevailed. The term *vatikáni Képes Legendarium* (Vatican Illustrated Legendary) was first used by Edith Hoffman in 1929.⁶⁸ This is the first case in which the name was written with capital letters, and thus the first occasion in which the codex can truly be said to have acquired a title. Ilona Berkovits borrowed this title in 1938,⁶⁹ and Dezső Dercsényi used an abbreviated version in his articles: *Vatikáni Legendarium* (Vatican Legendary).⁷⁰

The turning point in the naming of the codex came about with Ferenc Levárdy. In his first serious treatment of the legendary he discusses the problem of the name: “as long as we only knew of the pages from the Vatican, it was perfectly acceptable to identify the codex as the ‘Vatican Illustrated Legendary’ [...] but the next time the work is named, we feel that it is absolutely essential that the Hungarian connection be highlighted and a reference made to its similarities in execution to the illustrated *Biblia Pauperum*. Consequently we consider the ‘Hungarian Illustrated Legendary’ the most fitting name for the work.”⁷¹ This proposal would exchange an obsolete reference to the place in which the bulk of the codex is housed with a reference to the codex’s function, while still indicating the illustrative nature of the work. Surprisingly, however, Levárdy fails to use this title in his work. Instead he uses a third term, with no further explanation: Magyar Anjou Legendarium (*Hungarian Angevin Legendary*).⁷² From this point on this title became generally accepted,⁷³ and to this day it is the one used by the majority of scholars and the one that appears on the 1973 facsimile edition. In an abbreviated form the terms Anjou-Legendarium (Anjou Legendary)⁷⁴ or (only in non-Hungarian usage) Hungarian Legendary crop up.⁷⁵

Meta Harrsen tried to introduce a totally different name, when she called the codex *Passionale* in 1949. Although there were followers,⁷⁶ Levárdy flatly rejected it: “The name suggested by Harrsen, *Passionale*, does not reflect the content of the volume. Based on its content and similarities to Jacobus de Voragine’s *Golden Legend*, we consider the term Legendary justified.”⁷⁷ However, Levárdy’s distinction between the two terms *legendarium* and *passionale* is not correct – codicologists use both terms in a similar sense. True, Johannes Belet did distinguish between the words in the twelfth century, saying that a *legendarium* contained the lives of confessors, while a *passionale* contained the sufferings of martyrs. On the other hand, most such manuscripts, including this codex, contain the legends of both confessors and martyrs, and thus cannot be neatly divided up in this way.⁷⁸ Besides, in reality a *passionale* can contain more than the lives of martyrs, and the expressions *passionarius*, *passionarium*, *liber passionalis* or *vitae sanctorum*, *legendarius* can all be used interchangeably.⁷⁹ Therefore, the terms have no significant role in clarifying content, and thus it is simplest just to use *legendarium* or legendary.⁸⁰

The elements that have appeared in the various titles discussed above reflect the place of preservation, the function of the codex, the patron and his circle, or the type of codex. The reference to the Vatican certainly appears outdated because of the increase in material discovered elsewhere, although without question the majority of the pages are still preserved there. The other elements (Hungarian, Anjou, Illustrated, Legendary) all seem important and it is difficult to choose among them.⁸¹ But including all four would be too much; therefore we consider it easiest (in the absence of any compelling arguments) to remain with the generally accepted title of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (Magyar Anjou Legendarium). The result, however, is that instead of using an indisputably valid name, the Vatican Illustrated Legendary, which reflects early, technical points, we are using a term

that refers to the history of the codex, and this immediately assumes a certain interpretation of the origins and functions of the codex. A discussion of these matters will be necessary in the following sections.

The origins of the codex – stylistic aspects

General opinions on the origin of the codex were rather quickly formed, creating a basis for further research. In 1910 Poncelet declared it a fourteenth or fifteenth century work, but by 1913 Ricci dated the pages he had catalogued to late fourteenth century Italy. Using stylistic aspects as a major point of orientation, Lajos Karl suggested the end of the fourteenth century, pointing to the work of Niccolò di Giacomo in Bologna as the possible source of the codex. In 1929 Gerevich refined this idea by distinguishing between several hands and then considering one of the artists to be a Hungarian student of Niccolò. In an earlier study (1909–1910), Gerevich addressed some other unexplored issues, examining the French and Byzantine roots of Bolognese manuscript illumination and shedding light on local miniature and panel painting. The art of Niccolò can in part be traced to the style of Vitale da Bologna.⁸² Although he became a vocal proponent of a national school of art history in later decades, Gerevich continued to insist on the Bolognese origins of the codex. Dercsényi followed in the footsteps of Gerevich, dating the codex to 1365–70 and accepting Gerevich's identification of the masters involved.⁸³ Meanwhile another theory was born which would later prove defining: in 1930 Toesca dated the work to the early fourteenth century and thus to a stylistic phase preceding Niccolò's.⁸⁴

This theory, however, did not find a favorable audience either in Hungary or abroad, and research focused instead on the Hungarian connections of the codex. By 1928 Cyrill Horváth had declared the painter either Hungarian or nourished on Hungarian traditions.

In 1930 Lukcsics clearly mentions Hungary as the codex's possible place of origin. Neither Horváth nor Lukcsics was an art historian – but their ideas were so influential they even found expression among professionals: In 1928 and 1929 Edith Hoffmann links the legendary to Hungarian codex painting in the second half of the fourteenth century.⁸⁵

More forward-looking were Ilona Berkovits's assessments in 1947. She dated the codex to an earlier period – to the 1350s – and tied it closely to the Néksei Bible.⁸⁶ Meta Harrsen independently arrived at a similar conclusion in 1949, suggesting not only a close connection between the two works but considering them the products of the very same masters. Consequently Harrsen assigned a date of 1335–40 to the illustrated legendary. She also firmly stood by a Hungarian origin for the work, supporting her argument with paleographic, iconographic and stylistic evidence. She demonstrated that alongside Bolognese characteristics, other Central European (Czech), Byzantine and Balkan features could be detected, which (in her mind) clearly point to a Hungarian origin. She argues at length that a manuscript illumination workshop existed in Esztergom (which she imagined to be next to the Collegium Christi⁸⁷), and later placed the actual painting of the codex in Buda, by far overestimating the town's role during the Angevin period.⁸⁸ Harrsen also made the first thorough analysis of the stylistic differences observable in the codex, distinguishing between four hands. This would serve as the basis for later, similar types of research.

Levárdy continued Harrsen's train of thought in his studies published in the 1960s. He considered the most likely date to be around 1333, but he assigned the place of origin as Bologna. However, he did entertain the possibility that the work was completed in Hungary.⁸⁹ He even identified the head illuminator of the workshop as master Hertul, mentioned as a royal painter.⁹⁰ Károly Mollay corrected Levárdy's overreaching conclusions concerning

Hertul in 1977,⁹¹ and in time the professional literature completely rejected Levárdy's theory.⁹²

Among Italian researchers, Hungary generally came to be accepted as the place of origin. Cesare Gnudi's lecture in Budapest in 1969 was an important stage in process. In his talk he examined both the Néksei Bible and the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, and discovered the mutual influence of Italian and Central European development. He considered both codices to be Hungarian, but he felt stylistically they were closely related to the works of the most important Bolognese master before Niccolò, Pseudo-Niccolò (otherwise known as *Illustratore*). Tünde Wehli took this thought a step further declaring the work a product of Pseudo-Niccolò's workshop itself.⁹³ In deciding the place of origin, Gnudi saw the tendency toward Byzantine style as definitive, and like Harrsen, he felt that Hungary must have been more prone to Byzantine influences than Italy. But occasionally, fresh waves of Byzantine impulses were known to sweep through Italy, and Gnudi failed to take this into consideration.⁹⁴ Alessandro Conti thought along the same lines as Gnudi, finding the roots of certain features of the Hungarian group in the style of the *Maestro del 1328*, and considered the arrival of the *Illustratore* on the scene to be a parallel phenomenon. He thus established a "Hungarian group," but refused to acknowledge them as a part of Bolognese manuscript illumination, and thus never examined them thoroughly.⁹⁵ Conti abandons his discussion of Bolognese illumination just at the critical point in terms of Hungarian codices: the 1330s.

Recently Robert Gibbs has examined Bolognese manuscript illumination and its northern (Czech and Hungarian) connections in several studies.⁹⁶ In his work on Czech connections he follows the work of Olga Puymanova.⁹⁷ In making a Hungarian connection, he attempts to determine the location and works of a so-called Hungarian master, suggesting his art developed from the pre-1320 style of Nerio, and that he may have also

worked with the *Maestro del 1328*.⁹⁸ Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt sought the chief miniaturist of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* among the Bolognese masters identified by Gerhard Schmidt to have worked in Sankt Florian (Austria). She identified the main master as Nerio, assuming this artist first worked in Austria in the 1320s, and the following decades in Hungary.⁹⁹

Despite these views, Hungarian research remained faithful to the belief that the codex was made in Bologna (Marosi,¹⁰⁰ Wehli), while still acknowledging other possible Italian influences (Siena, Naples).¹⁰¹ Harrsen's stylistic analysis, which demonstrates the presence of four different hands, was further refined by both Levárdy and Tünde Wehli.¹⁰² Later Wehli conceded that the place of origin of the codex could arguably be Hungary¹⁰³ rather than Bologna,¹⁰⁴ but later rejected this possibility again.¹⁰⁵ While there is considerable disagreement in the literature concerning the place of execution, the dating of the manuscript usually falls between 1330 and 1345.¹⁰⁶

In her 1992 study Gyöngyi Török adheres to the traditional date and tends to support a Hungarian place of execution, although she leaves the question open. Importantly she states that the similarities between the legendary and the Néksei Bible are signs of similar workshop practices, but do not point to a concrete connection between the works.¹⁰⁷

Thus at present the question of where the workshop was located remains unanswered. However, two facts need to be weighed. According to the present state of research, there is no Bolognese workshop that might have produced the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. In addition, such a large undertaking would have clearly required a well-established workshop employing several masters. Even if we cannot always distinguish between the hands, it is certain that more than one painter took part in the project. Yet we have no evidence, no precursors or successors of such a sophisticated book-illumination workshop in Hungary. Research, however, has suggested the

presence of itinerant masters from Bologna in Austria and Bohemia who would also have been capable of executing the codex.¹⁰⁸ But ultimately the place of origin of the codex plays no fundamental role in the visual organization of the codex; therefore, this question requires no further investigation in this study. Moreover, regardless of which of the several versions we choose, the fact remains the same as recognized nearly eighty years ago: the sources of the style and visual solutions of the codex can be found in Bologna.

The commissioning and further history of the codex

Whether scholars considered the codex's place of the origin to be Bologna or Hungary, it was generally agreed from the outset that the commissioner of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* was Hungarian¹⁰⁹ based on Hungarian (-Polish) features found in the iconography of the codex. Discovering the concrete identity of the individual, however, did not excite the interest of early researchers.¹¹⁰ Later, though, the function and unusual character of the codex sparked some opinions on the matter: because it is composed entirely of images, Ilona Berkovits likened the codex to the pattern books of fresco painters,¹¹¹ and others also noted this similarity to pattern books.¹¹² This idea, however, does not hold, as pattern books (both those used by fresco painters and miniaturists) were fundamentally different in nature.¹¹³

Meta Harrsen was the first to formulate a strong opinion on the function of the codex. Because the most extensive cycle is devoted to St James the Greater, she suggested that the Hungarian Angevins hoped to gain favor with Pope Benedict XII (Jacques Fournier, 1334-1342) by presenting him with the codex. In return the pope would then offer his support for their affairs in Naples. Harrsen further claimed that because of the pope's early death the codex had remained unfinished, and was never delivered to him.¹¹⁴

The most developed theory on the identity of the commissioner and the function of the codex belongs to Ferenc Levárdy.¹¹⁵ Noting the selection of saints, he asserted the codex had been made after 1317¹¹⁶ for a Hungarian patron, "certainly for one of the Hungarian Angevins." He then goes on to demonstrate the dynasty's links to the various saints in the legendary.¹¹⁷ Because of the unusual nature of the codex, composed entirely of images, he concluded, "the book was certainly designed for children only just learning to read." Narrowing it down further, he suggested the codex was for the son of Charles I (Charles Robert, king of Hungary), Andrew, whom the king had brought to Naples in 1333 in order to assert the family's long-standing, rightful claim to the throne through marriage and inheritance contracts: "The illustrated legendary, which expanded on the *Sanctorale* of the Roman church with legends of Hungarian Angevin saints, would have aided in the education of the prince, who had suddenly found himself in a foreign land. Given the representative display of the saints, the codex was indeed a gift befitting a prince."

Levárdy's theory was well received for some time in scholarly circles, but lately its acceptance has decreased. In 1986 Tüندی Wehli questioned the hypothesis, suggesting as an alternative that the codex had been made for the library of Charles I of Hungary.¹¹⁸ Bader and Starr consider the commissioner to have been Charles I himself,¹¹⁹ while B. D. Boehm names Charles II (clearly a typographical error) in his discussion of the page in the Metropolitan Museum of Art.¹²⁰ Polish research sometimes refers only to the queen consort, Elizabeth Łokietek.¹²¹ In 1991, Tünde Wehli completely rejected the role of Prince Andrew based on the new, later date assigned to the codex.¹²²

Some have suggested that in addition to members of the royal family, educated clerics might also have been involved in ordering the legendary. Even Levárdy sought the designer of codex in the environs of the royal court, proposing "the names of Miklós Neszmélyi – the teacher of King Louis – and Miklós Vásári."¹²³ Dezső Dercsényi,

who accepted that the codex was made for Prince Andrew, states “the list of saints, and the numbers of images devoted to St James the Greater points to James of Piacenza, the royal doctor, secret chancellor and later bishop of Csanád. It would have been in his interest to remind Andrew, whose marriage he arranged, of his good deeds through an extensive narrative of the legend of St James.”¹²⁴ In 1982 Tündi Wehli similarly acknowledged, “the patron of the codex may have been Charles I, but James of Piacenza is another possible candidate, or any other person in the prince’s Neapolitan surroundings.”¹²⁵ Later she considered Csanád Telegdi, archbishop of Esztergom, during her discussion of the cycle of Saint Gerhard.¹²⁶

Just as the origins of the codex are shrouded in uncertainty, so too is its later history. All we know is that in 1630, part of it was in the possession of Giovanni Battista Saluzzo, who presented it (with his own poems in Latin and Italian) to his relative, Angelo Saluzzo.¹²⁷ Meta Harrsen suggested that the codex, passed on within the House of Anjou, eventually surfaced in Poland, and from there was acquired by G. B. Saluzzo.¹²⁸ Two points, however, render this theory unlikely. First of all it is bold to suggest that the codex or even a part of it may have turned up in Poland.¹²⁹ While Saluzzo did have good Polish connections, Harrsen’s argument depends on every element of the following provenance: Charles I – Louis the Great – Hedwig – the Jagiellos – Saluzzo. However, Saluzzo could have just as easily obtained the pages of the legendary in Italy. Second, we cannot assume that the entire codex was ever in Saluzzo’s possession, and that he only gave a portion of it to Angelo, while the remainder was placed in the Vatican. Such a theory would make it very difficult to explain the randomness of Saluzzo’s selection,¹³⁰ or the fact that several complete pages missing from the Vatican codex were not included in Saluzzo’s collection. No proof exists that the material in the Vatican was ever in the hands of Saluzzo. It is equally possible

that he acquired the eighty-five pictures as just a fragment of the whole.

There are two points on which research could progress. Since the text of the *tituli* was written on the back of the pictures in New York, this writing could be compared to other handwriting examples of Saluzzo’s, as nobody has yet examined Saluzzo’s writing with this goal in mind.¹³¹

In addition, the largest surviving fragment of the codex was bound in the eighteenth century with the coat of arms of St Benedict XIV (1740–58) on the front and back of the volume. It is worth noting that according to Vatican tradition, the coat of the arms of the pope usually appears only on the front, and the coat of arms of the Vatican librarian on the back. As it turns out, the *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana* did not acquire the pages directly from Benedict XIV. He originally gave them to the *Museo Cristiano*, which he established in 1757, and only later did they enter the library’s collection.¹³² As other pages have cropped up (some in Paris) Lukcsics concluded that Napoleon had taken the codex in 1797, and it was returned to Italy only in fragments. However, the eighteenth century binding is intact; therefore pages could only have been removed before 1757. Moreover, the codex does not appear on the list of looted items.¹³³

An examination of the Vatican codex helps us reach another important conclusion. In his codicological study, Giovanni Morello notes that underneath the present day Vatican page numbers are others dated to the seventeenth century.¹³⁴ He established this based on only the second sheet (at present) and did not continue his examination. In the following sections of this study we will show how this numbering, in our view, can be reconstructed. At this point we should only note that this numbering suggests a more complete collection in the seventeenth century, when the codex had at least sixteen more folios, but the Saluzzo-leaves and at least twenty-eight other pages were already missing from it. We do not know if the

eighty-five images in the New York booklet and the other twenty-some pages were removed from the codex at the same time or in several stages.¹³⁵ But it is highly likely that the sixteen pages that disappeared between the seventeenth century page numbering and the c. 1757 binding were for a time kept together. After all, aside from the Vatican codex and the Saluzzo booklet, all the pages that have surfaced thus far have been registered by this seventeenth century numbering. In addition, all of them have been trimmed all the way around, but are not “quartered.” Unfortunately we cannot trace their provenance to any common points.

At present all we know is that in 1913 there were two pages in the Rosenberg collection in Paris. These came from the Sterbini collection in Rome,¹³⁶ and one of them, after spending several years in the possession of an art

dealer in New York, was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. The whereabouts of the other is unknown. Five more pages were acquired by the Hermitage in 1924 and were discovered by Lajos Vayer in 1957 and 1969. Similarly trimmed pages were obtained by the Morgan Library in 1955 and 1961.¹³⁷ In 1983 an additional page appeared in Berkeley¹³⁸ and recently another in Paris.¹³⁹ Thus it is hopeful that another six pages may turn up (see Table 1).

Observations on content: iconography and hagiography

Thus far we have traced the various opinions on the origins and history of the codex. Yet from the outset researchers have been preoccupied with the selection of saints and the codex’s role as a hagiographic source. This endeavor led to the first publication of the codex in 1910,

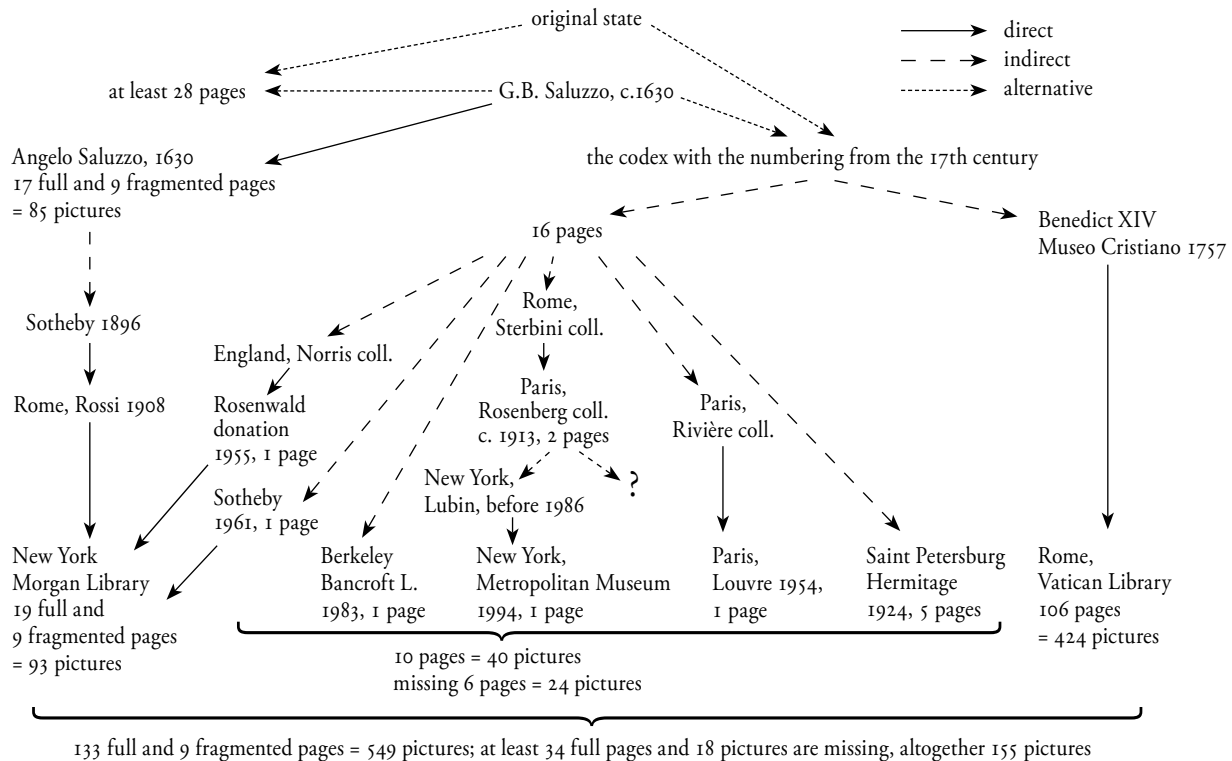


Table 1. Scheme of the history of the manuscript

which inspired the research of Lajos Karl, Cyrill Horváth, and Pál Lukcsics. Karl made general observations and cited the Old Testament (!), the gospels, profane sources of the legends, and oral traditions as backgrounds to the image cycles. Of greater value was his research on individual saints: he referred to the legends of the Hungarian saints, the *Képes Krónika* (Illuminated Chronicle), and (for a long time solely) to the chronicle of Henrik Mügel. ¹⁴⁰ In his study on French saints he sought the source of the images in the collection of Jacobus de Voragine, the *Golden Legend*. ¹⁴¹ Pál Lukcsics compared the cycles of a different set of saints to the texts of the *Golden Legend* (Cosmas and Damian, Giles and in part St James the Greater: IX–XLVI) and also examined the cycles of Jerome, Martin, Brice, Catherine, and Dominic. He gave the most thorough treatment to the cycles of Hungarian saints, analyzing the legends of Emeric and Gerhard, and later Ladislás. He demonstrated that although no source is presently known that covers the entire Ladislás cycle, every other image series can be tied to a concrete text; thus it is very likely that one existed for Ladislás too. ¹⁴² Later, the problem of the legend of St Ladislás continued to occupy scholars: Gyula László collected information on the iconography and sources of the battle with the Cumans as it related to the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, ¹⁴³ while Ernő Marosi catalogued the location of sources for the codex's Ladislás cycle. ¹⁴⁴

Ferenc Levárdy made the most detailed comparison of individual pictures with texts from the *Golden Legend* and other sources. However, he published his studies not as an analysis but as a simple explanation of the images, often departing considerably from the texts of the legends; nevertheless the usefulness of de Voragine's collection was clear. ¹⁴⁵ Levárdy's conclusions, however, are not all watertight. He found that fifty of the fifty-nine legends fit with the *Golden Legend*, two originated from the Bible, five from the Hungarian appendices to the *Golden Legend*, and two were unidentifiable.

In fact we only know of fifty-eight legends from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. ¹⁴⁶ Levárdy obviously added the cycle of King St Stephen of Hungary (as the numbering in the facsimile edition indicates), but it is not possible to determine any sources for this legend, since it has been lost without a trace. The two legends Levárdy claims are drawn from the Bible concern Jesus and St Paul. His conclusion is plausible in the case of the former, but in the case of the latter, the images after picture 12 are drawn partially, and after picture 19, entirely from the *Golden Legend*. The cycle of St Francis is one he could not identify, but this too can largely be traced to Jacobus de Voragine's work. Of the five legends he believes to be based on the Hungarian appendices, only Gerhard's, Emeric's, and Demetrius' indeed originate from there, while the Stanislaw cycle can be traced to Vincentius of Kielcza's *Vita major*. In fact the legend of Stanislaw did not even appear in these appendices. As for the cycle of St Louis of Toulouse, there are no sources that completely cover the cycle, and none appeared in the Hungarian appendices. But Levárdy is certainly right on one account: no single source has been found for the Ladislás series.

The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is an exciting subject for literary historians because it sheds light on the reception of the *Golden Legend* (and its Hungarian appendices). Edit Madas's 1992 study reveals that the legendary is in fact the only surviving codex that would have rendered the *Golden Legend* for a Hungarian patron. ¹⁴⁷ Because the *Golden Legend* for the most part did not contain saints related to Hungary, a supplement was prepared for local use. Several codices are known that were expanded in this way, but the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is the only one in which the legends of the Hungarian saints were made at the same time as the others – although not in the form of texts.

Andor Tarnai examined the Hungarian supplement to the *Golden Legend* in 1984 using incunabula published in Strasbourg and Venice. ¹⁴⁸ The list of saints these works

contain fit in well with the additions to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, although it is obvious that the list was also modified over the centuries.¹⁴⁹ Related to this problem, the known versions of the legends do not match in every respect the mode of presentation in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Péter Kulcsár showed that the fifteenth century historian Bonfini used sources for the Hungarian saints in his work that largely correspond to the known versions today, but nevertheless contained some distinct differences.¹⁵⁰ Kulcsár suggests that Bonfini did not seek each individual legend, coincidentally finding versions that we do not know today, but rather used a collection that is now lost. Such a *colligatum* was known to have existed as late as 1577 in the material of the former Corvina Library.¹⁵¹

Of course, pointing to a lost collection of Hungarian legends that was in use during the Angevin age does not solve everything. The explanation for some discrepancies (and not just those in the legends of Hungarian saints) can be found in the visual tradition. It is unlikely that a similar codex served as the prototype to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*,¹⁵² and in any case this would only transfer the problem. Clearly the painters must have drawn on the usual iconography or the general repertoire of images in depicting some of the better-known scenes.

This is the point at which begins our research. The individual legends need to be analyzed in order to acquaint ourselves with the written and visual sources. Likewise, certain picture types need to be examined to determine which set of visual tools were used by the painters of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. During this process, we should note which motifs appear important within the visual scheme of the codex. In other words, the messages of the legendary need to be mapped out. Since the textual source for the majority of the legends is one work, the *Golden Legend*, any divergences from this are significant.

The increasing interest of hagiographers in the *Golden Legend* in recent years adds impetus to our research.

For some time, the *Golden Legend* had been categorized among the less valuable sources, because its storybook motifs gloss over the true faces of the saints. For this reason, a critical edition of the text was prepared only recently. Before 1998 researchers relied on one of the nineteenth century editions of Theodor Graesse, usually the most recent one from 1890 or its 1969 reprint.¹⁵³ Nonetheless, progress has recently been made in the realm of textual criticism. It has been estimated how widespread the distribution of the book in the Middle Ages was, as well as how many codices have survived in Latin or in some translation.¹⁵⁴ Barbara Fleith made an important assertion that the University of Bologna played a crucial role in the dissemination of the *Golden Legend*, and probably distributed it in Paris and to other universities.¹⁵⁵ This raises the possibility that local manuscript illumination workshops may have had easy access to the book, and also that during their university training, Hungarian students and professors may have had an opportunity to become intimately acquainted with the work.

Theories have also been developed about the writing methods of Jacobus de Voragine.¹⁵⁶ The research of Alain Boureau, who studied the narrative structure of the *Golden Legend* in his book of 1984, deserves special attention. He points out what tools Jacobus de Voragine used in his narratives, what type of events were used to build the legends, what order these events were placed in, and how this expressed meaning. Finally, he examines how the different types of saints are used to construct a system the Dominican order wished to convey through its sermons.¹⁵⁷ This study hopes to make use of these lessons.

In order to embark on our research, however, we should, above all, be aware of the limitations of the investigation: we need to determine what part of the codex survives today, to what degree the original collection can be reconstructed, and how it relates to the present-day material. We can only begin an analysis of the contents of

the codex if we know the extent to which our conclusions apply to the entire work. In the next sections we will assess the codex's present-day and former stock of material.

I.3. CALCULATION OF THE SURVIVING MATERIAL

The question of how many pages and images are known in total from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is usually answered in one part of a catalogue entry. This study, however, requires a more lengthy discussion, since the majority of works dealing with the codex reflect a great deal of uncertainty. This is understandable, as individual pages have only gradually been discovered. The confusion, however, has been present from the start, ever since the material in the Vatican was published: the catalogue of 1910 mentions 115 folios instead of the correct number of 106.¹⁵⁸ For some time this information was arbitrarily repeated until Levárdy corrected it in 1964.¹⁵⁹

Unfortunately, Levárdy also added to the confusion, since his facsimile supplies its own numbers to the pages, ending with a count of 170. This number does not reflect the true number of surviving folios (or even those published), because Levárdy's system of numbering jumps, leaving spaces for lost folios. In all his studies, Levárdy attempted to reconstruct the original condition of the codex, refining each assessment as his research advanced.¹⁶⁰ The facsimile edition preserves the 1973 state of his research. At this time he left space for two missing leaves at the beginning but did not count the missing leaves at the end. Exacerbating the problem, he first assigned two numbers to those pages containing the final images of one legend and the initial images of another (L 19–20, L 23–24), but later he uses just one number for similar such pages (L 67 etc.) In the end he fails to provide an estimation of the actual number of surviving pages. In any case, the number 170 is misleading when one is trying to assess the true quantity of the material.¹⁶¹ Moreover, the

edition does not contain all the surviving pages we know of.¹⁶² Therefore, only one method remains: count the entire material in the collection one by one. But as we will find, even this task presents challenges.

The Vatican Library

The codex classified as *Vaticanus latinus* 8541 in the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana contains the richest material from the illustrated legendary, as researchers quickly realized. Measuring 28 cm x 21.4 cm,¹⁶³ the codex has leather binding from the eighteenth century, with the papal coat of arms of Prospero Lambertini, or Benedict XIV (1740–1758). The gold-lettered inscription on the spine reads: *Acta S[anctorum] pictis imaginibus adornata*. The codex originally belonged to the collection of the Museo Cristiano, established by the pope in 1757, and was only later transferred to the Vatican library.¹⁶⁴

As mentioned, in 1910 Albert Poncelet mentioned 115 folios, but today only 106 are known.¹⁶⁵ There is no reason to believe, however, that nine pages have disappeared since then. According to Levárdy “115” was a typographical error and the number “105” was meant to appear. This number would agree with the numbering later applied to the pages, although this was also incorrect. One page had not been numbered, and Levárdy called the librarians' attention to this. The unnumbered page was then labeled 56a.¹⁶⁶ But Levárdy's facsimile edition also contains a considerable number of mistakes:

- P. 106 should be numbered 63v and not 62v
- P. 114 should be numbered 71v and not 70r
- P. 163 lacks a collection identification: V
- P. 170 should be numbered 105v and not 104r

Even more problematic is that Levárdy's numbering of the folios is not continuous: the first eleven folios of the Vatican material are numbered from 14r (L 17) to 24r

(L 29), but the next leaf (L 32) is numbered 12v and the numbering sequence continues from there. Thus the first eleven folios actually have two numbers.

Despite these difficulties, it is certain that 106 folios can be found in the Vatican, and every page is intact: this means 424 images. Unfortunately these are the only pages that have survived undamaged.

The Hermitage

In 1957 Lajos Vajer stumbled upon four pages in the Hermitage in St Petersburg, and later in 1969, he discovered another one.¹⁶⁷ The cropped pages measure 215 x 168, 219 x 165, 216 x 165, 218 x 162 and 215 x 165 mm.¹⁶⁸ They were donated to the collection in 1924,¹⁶⁹ and beyond this nothing is known of their provenance. For some time the pages remained unpublished as Hungarian authors awaited the publication of M. V. Dobroklonsky, which never came to pass. Then in 1972 the pages appeared in black and white in the *Acta Historiae Artium*, and later in color in the facsimile edition. The 1973 edition shows the following images with the Hermitage classification numbers:

L 31	Paul the apostle	E 16933 ¹⁷⁰
L 117	Gregory	E 16932 [sic!]
L 120	Augustine	E 16931
L 148	Francis	E 16932
L 158	Alexis	E 16930

In addition on page L140 there is a written description of two of the images of St Benedict and two of St Anthony the Great, with the classification number E 16934. A black and white picture of this was published by Vayer and Levárdy in the 1972 edition of *Acta Historiae Artium* cited above. This adds up to six pages total, although the authors insist that only five pages were found in Russia.¹⁷¹ Indeed Levárdy erroneously published pages 117 and 148

under the same classification number. Based on the photo in the 1972 publication E 16932 depicts the images of St Francis. Clearly page 117 is elsewhere to be found.

The Morgan Library and other American collections

After the Vatican, the Morgan Library in New York has the largest collection of material from the former codex: approximately one-fifth of the surviving material. The main body of the material was purchased by Pierpont Morgan in 1909 from Rossi in Rome¹⁷² in the form of a small book containing a total of eighty-five trimmed and glued images from the former codex. According to the title page Giovanni Battista Saluzzo presented this as a gift to Angelo Saluzzo in 1630.¹⁷³ It contains scenes from the lives of ten saints, but mostly from the life of Jesus (forty-nine images which comprise all the surviving material from this legend), and remarkably few from the lives of John and Paul (2), Vitus (1) and Nicholas (1).¹⁷⁴

In 1940 these pictures were removed from the book and those related to each other were affixed to the same page. The classification number of this series is M 360, and consists of twenty-four pages. The size of the sheets is 210 x 152 mm. Unfortunately, not every page could be reconstructed: some are missing one, two, or three images. The following pages are incomplete: III, IV, XIV, XVII, XXII and XXIV.

To make matters worse, there was no consistent attempt to keep together those pictures that originally appeared on the same page. Page XVI has fragments from three folios: L 48a and d, L 63 and L 62 (scenes 5, 8, 62 and 66 from the life of St James the Greater.)¹⁷⁵ Thus the material consists of eighty-five images originally belonging to twenty-six folios and now affixed to twenty-four sheets.¹⁷⁶

In addition, according to Levárdy, four pages were acquired later: based on Ricci's catalogue, two had been in the collection of Léonce Rosenberg in Paris, a third was a

gift from Lessing J. Rosenwald in 1955, and a fourth was bought in 1961.¹⁷⁷ Levárdy published these pages with the following classification numbers:

M 360a - b	Rosenberg No. 72–73
M 360c	Rosenwald, 1955
M 360d	purchase (Sotheby's), 1961

Thus, following Levárdy's calculation, 101 pictures from an original thirty folios should have been divided among twenty-eight sheets in the New York collection.¹⁷⁸

Unfortunately the facsimile edition does not tell us what saints are depicted in these pages. Only in one case do the classification numbers mentioned in the descriptions exceed the number twenty-four: M. XXVI = L 145, the second page of the legend of St Dominic. Perhaps this was M.360d (today M.360.26) according to the old system of classification. The other, folio M.360c (25 according to the new numbering system), is identical to a part of the legend of St Gregory the Great published as a page from the Hermitage with a mistaken classification number (L 117).¹⁷⁹

The other two pages still need to be identified. Ricci's 1913 catalogue partially describes the two pages in question, labeling one as the legend of an unknown bishop (No. 72) and the other as the legend of St Francis (No. 73).¹⁸⁰ Now the 1990 facsimile edition by the Belser publishing house lists the last two pages from the Morgan Library as:

- [360a] Fol. XXV: Geschichten des hl. Gregor
(Szenen III-VI)
- [360b] Fol. XXVI: Geschichten des hl. Franz von Assisi
(Szenen XIII-XVI)
- [360c] Fol. XXVII: Geschichten des hl. Dominikus
(Szenen V-VIII)¹⁸¹

This description thus follows Levárdy by noting the location of the page showing the legend of St Francis is

kept in the Morgan Library. This, however, is not correct. The page depicting St Francis recently surfaced in New York, first in a private collection and later as a new acquisition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York.¹⁸² Therefore the Rosenberg pages never belonged to the Morgan Library. Researchers were clearly confused by the old numbering system, assuming that M.360a and b were folio numbers. M.360a, however, is simply the small book from which the trimmed pictures were removed.¹⁸³ Unfortunately we have not been able to shed any light on the meaning of M.360b (if this classification number ever existed at all.)

Thus we can summarize the material in the Morgan Library as follows (see also Table 3):

Classification number	Number of pages	Number of original folios	Number of images
M.360.1-24.	24	26	85
M.360a (= book)	—	—	—
M.360.25 = c	1	1	4
M.360.26 = d	1	1	4
<i>total</i>	26	28	93

Table 2. The holdings of the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

Here we should also recall another page owned by the Bancroft Library in Berkeley:¹⁸⁴ depicting four scenes from the life of St Louis of Toulouse. This page is also trimmed, measuring: 218 x 166 mm.

The page in the Louvre

The research of Miklós Boskovits led to the discovery of the last page to turn up. Boskovits came across a hitherto unknown page in the photo collection of the Harvard University Center for Italian Renaissance Studies in Florence (Villa i Tatti, Fototeca Berenson). According to the inscription on the back of the photo the page

	no:	scenes in the Morgan L	related scenes in the Vatican	all known scenes	original size
Jesus	M.360.1-13	49	-	49	96?
John the Evangelist	M.360.14	1	16	17	24
James the Greater	M.360.15-16	8	56	64	72
Simon and Judas	M.360.19	4	4	8	8
James the Less	M.360.17-18	7	-	7	8
Bartholomew	M.360.20-21	8	-	8	8?
John and Paul	M.360.22	2	-	2	6?
Vitus	M.360.22	1	-	1	6?
Christopher	M.360.23	4	2	6	10
Nicholas	M.360.24	1	-	1	?
new leaves:					
Gregory the Great	M.360.25	4	2	6	6
Dominic	M.360.26	4	4	8	12?

Table 3. The cycles kept in the Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

was in Paris in the private collection of George Mesnard. Another manuscript inscription suggested it had been donated to the Louvre in 1952, while yet another linked it to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, citing Harrsen's 1958 publication and claiming the Louvre had acquired the page in April 1952.¹⁸⁵ Boskovits passed this information on to Gyöngyi Török, who published the page in 2000.¹⁸⁶ Ulrike Bauer-Eberhardt had already published the page in 1996 in her review of the Vatican Library

exhibit in Cologne.¹⁸⁷ The Louvre's records show that Henri Benjamin Rivière donated the page to the collection in 1954. An inscription also reveals that A. de Marchi already realized in 1994 that the leaf had come from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.¹⁸⁸ Like the other pages that have surfaced this too is cropped, measuring 220 x 167 mm.¹⁸⁹

The results can be summarized in the following table:¹⁹⁰

Location	Classification number	Number of pages	Number of original folios	Number of images
Vatican	Vat. lat. 8541	106	106	424
Hermitage	16930-4	5	5	20
Morgan L.	M.360.1-26	26	28	93
Bancroft L.	BANC MS UCB 130: f1300: 37	1	1	4
Metropolitan M.	1994.516	1	1	4
Louvre	RF 29940	1	1	4
<i>total</i>		140	142	549

Table 4. The holdings of the different collections

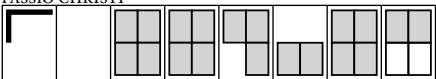
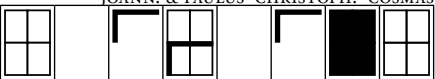
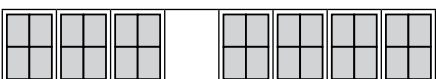
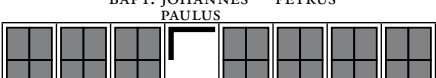
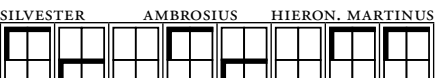
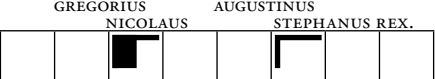
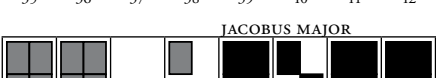
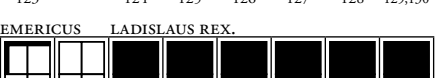
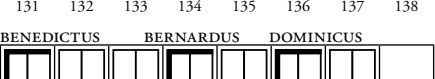
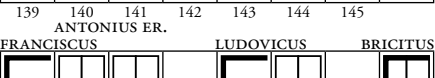
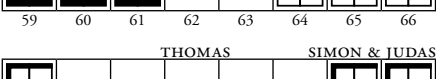
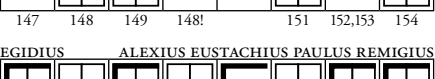
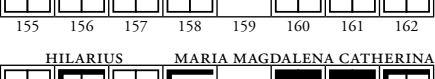
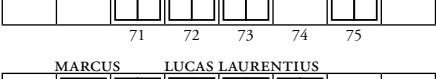
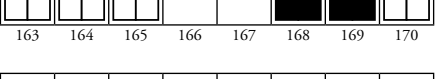
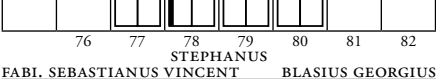
PASSIO CHRISTI I.  1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8	IOANN. & PAULUS CHRISTOPH. COSMAS 13.  91 92 93 94 95 96 97 98
2.  9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16	VITUS ILSESTUS 14.  99 100 101 102 103 104 105 106
DORMITIO B. MARIAE ASSUMPTIO 3.  17 18 19/20 21 22 23/24 25 26	SANISLAUS DEMETRIUS GHERARDUS THOMAS CANT. 15.  107 108 109 110 111 112 113 114
BAPT. JOHANNES PAULUS 4.  27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34	SILVESTER AMBROSIVS HIERON. MARTINUS 16.  115 116 117 118 119 120 121 122
ANDREAS JOHANNES EV. 5.  35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42	GREGORIUS NICOLAUS AUGUSTINUS STEPHANUS REX. 17.  123 124 125 126 127 128 129,130
JACOBUS MAJOR 6.  43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50	EMERICUS LADISLAUS REX. 18.  131 132 133 134 135 136 137 138
7.  51 52 53 54 55 56 57 58	BENEDICTUS BERNARDUS DOMINICUS 19.  139 140 141 142 143 144 145
MATHEUS 8.  59 60 61 62 63 64 65 66	ANTONIUS ER. FRANCISCUS LUDOVICUS BRICITUS 20.  147 148 149 150 151 152,153 154
THOMAS SIMON & IUDAS 9.  67 68 69 70	EGIDIUS ALEXIUS EUSTACHIUS PAULUS REMIGIUS 21.  155 156 157 158 159 160 161 162
PHILIPPUS JACOBUS MIN. BARTHOLOMAEUS 10.  71 72 73 74 75	HILARIUS MARIA MAGDALENA CATHERINA 22.  163 164 165 166 167 168 169 170
MARCUS LUCAS LAURENTIUS 11.  76 77 78 79 80 81 82	23. 
STEPHANUS FABI. SEBASTIANUS VINCENT BLASIVS GEORGIUS 12.  83 84 85 86 87 88 89 90	24. 

Table 5. Codicological reconstruction of Ferenc Levárdy indicating the different masters

I.4. AN ASSESSMENT OF THE ORIGINAL MATERIAL

Now that we have accounted for the surviving pages, we need to ask to what degree the original material can be reconstructed; in other words, what remains, and what has been lost? The following observation serves as a good starting point: the codex preserved in the Vatican has maintained its book-like character, and even today is composed of quires. All serious reconstructions need to build on this. The images of the legend were also originally numbered and the inscriptions on the material in the Vatican have preserved this. Unfortunately this numbering has been trimmed off from the other leaves, so in these cases, we need to rely on the iconographic logic of the legends – although this should be approached with great caution. Of further assistance is the logical structure of the entire codex: the sequence of saints in the Vatican codex reveals the original order of the legends. Moreover those pages on which the upper two images mark the end of one legend and the lower two the

beginning of another provide us with solid points of reference: there are ten such folios that we know of.¹⁹¹ From this it is clear that St John the Baptist comes after Mary, and then the apostles, the evangelists, martyrs and confessors beginning with Sylvester and the Church fathers, then the saints from various orders, female saints and virgins. In this system, hierarchy takes precedence, as in the case of the Litany of the Saints, in contrast to the organization of the *Golden Legend* based on the liturgical calendar.¹⁹²

Above all, the structure of the sheets is worth examining. Levárdy first made codicological observations of the manuscript in 1969, and published the results in 1972, significantly modifying his earlier proposed reconstruction.¹⁹³ He then refined these even further (in the 1973 facsimile edition and in the table appended to the Néksei Bible facsimile edition in 1988, see Table 5).¹⁹⁴ Giovanni Morello reached a different conclusion in many respects when he prepared the facsimile edition for the Belser Verlag in the 1990s (see Table 6).¹⁹⁵

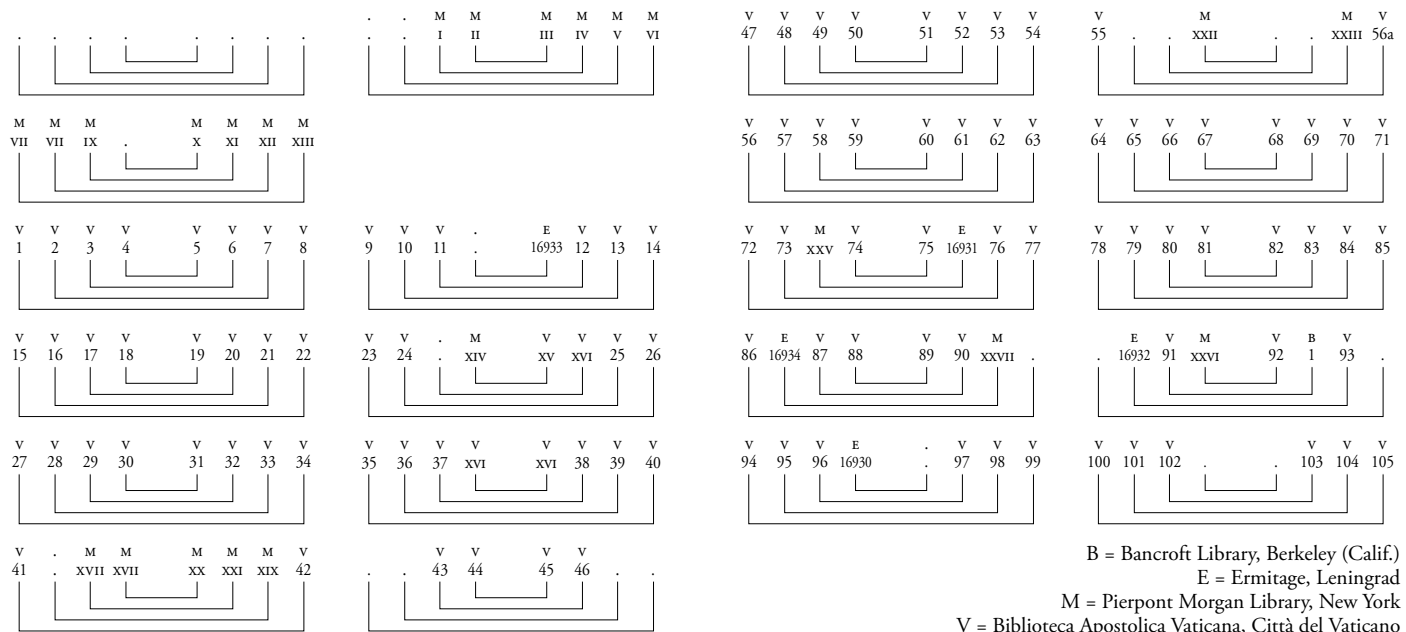
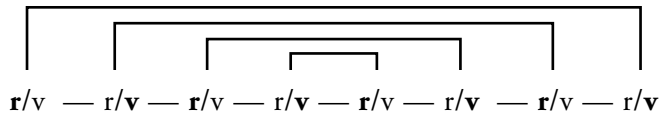


Table 6. Codicological reconstruction of Giovanni Morello

The quires were originally composed of four bifolia, forming quaternions. Only one side of the leaf was decorated, while the other was left blank.¹⁹⁶ The book was bound so that two decorated pages were always facing each other, and between them were two empty pages. The location of some pages was even indicated, and in some cases this notation has survived, but it does not aid in our reconstruction.¹⁹⁷ A complete quire, therefore, looked like this (the letters in bold indicate the decorated pages):



In the Vatican collection most pages have survived from a total of eighteen quires; in fact seven quires are complete (according to Levárdy's numbering:¹⁹⁸ 3, 5, 7, 12, 14, 15 and 18). Another quire (16) is missing two leaves, but they are found in other collections (Morgan Library 360.25 and the Hermitage 16931) – these leaves fit in perfectly with the other pages of the legends. Of the remaining incomplete quires, those with fewer missing folios can be reconstructed with greater certainty.

There are four more quires that also lack one bifolium: 4, 8, 21 and 22. In each case the middle bifolium was removed – clearly because it was the least well integrated into the structure of the book – in other words, the easiest to tear out:

- > From the numbering of the fourth quire, it is clear that the two missing sheets contained the first eight pictures from the legend of St Paul. One of the sheets is now in the Hermitage (16933, L 31), while the other is lost. Because the last picture in the St Petersburg folio and the first picture of the next leaf (Vat. fol. 12v, L 32) are related (illustrating Acts 16, 16-18 and 19-22, respectively) there is no doubt that the latter was the fifth folio.
- > The inner bifolium from the eighth quire depicts the sixty-first through the sixty-eighth scenes of the legend

of St James the Greater. Two images from the Saluzzo book in the Morgan Library (L 62 and 63 = M.360.16.4 and 3) belong here; given that the borders of the two pictures differ, clearly we have remains from both lost folios.

- > One of the sheets missing from the twenty-first quire, the second page of the legend of Alexis, can be found in the Hermitage (16930); the other showing the first four scenes of the legend of Eustace is lost.
- > Based on the numbering of the *tituli* the missing pages from the twenty-second quire must have depicted Mary Magdalene; both leaves are missing.

One quire (19) is missing three folios; we will return to that later. Two more quires contain only half their original material – two bifolia each. In quire 6, the middle sheets are missing, but because we have the first and last pages we know the quire contained scenes from the lives of St John the Evangelist and St James the Greater. Because the seventh folio, housed in the Vatican, begins with the number IX, clearly two leaves of this belonged to the life of James; the first page can be completely reconstructed, while the second only partially so from the material in the Morgan Library (L 47-48, M.360.15 and 16.1-2). The legend of John the Apostle is also fragmentary,¹⁹⁹ although we have one image (L 45, M.360.14) depicting the elderly evangelist as Jesus shows him his death: this probably belonged to the last leaf in the cycle. Because the cycles of the apostles (especially in this aspect of the codex) were so voluminous, we have no reason to suppose that the final lost leaf may have presented a condensed version of another saint's life. In all likelihood this page too was devoted to St John; thus the image from the Morgan Library is a fragment from the fourth folio in the quire.²⁰⁰

In the other quire (11) containing just two bifolia, it is the center ones that have survived. Here we have the second folio of the legend of St Mark, a folio jointly devoted

to the martyrs Luke and Stephen and the first eight pictures of the life of Lawrence. The numbering tells us that the second leaf of the quire had the first four pictures of the life of Mark. It is also obvious that the legend of St Lawrence is fragmentary and had at least one more leaf dedicated to it. The contents of the first and last folios, however, remain an open question. The last leaf could have belonged to Lawrence,²⁰¹ but the first leaf of the quire cannot be reconstructed. This question relates to the problems surrounding quire 9-10, discussed below.

The first leaf (L 91) of the thirteenth quire continues the legend of St George, but the next, which completed the legend, is lost.²⁰² The folio (L 98) that would have formed the other half of the sheet contains the end of the cycle of Christopher and the lives of Cosmas and Damian. Clearly these two leaves belonged to the outer sheet of the quire since the beginnings and ends of the legends can be found on the neighboring quires. From the numbering we know that of the six inner sheets, two were devoted to Christopher; of these one can be found in the Morgan Library (L 97, M.360.23).²⁰³ Furthermore, the legend of St George certainly continued on the next page. However, three unknown leaves can be reconstructed if we consider the order of the saints. Based on the Litany of Saints, Levárdy placed the legends of the martyrs Vitus, as well as John and Paul, here (not without basis, since the two Roman martyrs do generally appear before Cosmas and Damian). The last two scenes in the lives of John and Paul and the opening one in the legend of Vitus are found on a page in the Morgan Library (L 94, M.360.22): that is to say both legends are fragmentary. Most probable therefore is Levárdy's hypothesis, which places this sheet as the fourth in the quire, leaving space before and after for the rest of the legends, which are thus reconstructed with six scenes each.²⁰⁴

Quires 19 and 20 prove more problematic. From quire 19, we have leaves 1 and 3-6 in the collection of the Vatican, leaf 2 (with details from the legends of Anthony

and Benedict, L 140) in the Hermitage, and a leaf belonging to the legend of Dominic in the Morgan Library (L 145). It is unclear if this folio (containing the announcement of the saint's death and two *post mortem* miracles) was the last of the Dominic cycle, or if another followed; the legend lists a number of posthumous miracles, thus it is possible, but not likely. If this is the last leaf, however, then this means that the eighth folio of the quire began a new legend – or the Morgan page itself is the eighth folio, and there is a missing leaf that comes between the two existing ones of the legend of Dominic. Because the next quire begins with the legend of St Francis, which logically follows the story of Dominic, the last solution suggested above appears to be most probable. Nevertheless the possibility exists that the legend of a Dominican saint consisting of four scenes all together may have been inserted here.²⁰⁵

From quire 20, only one bifolium survives in the Vatican codex containing scenes IX-XII of Francis and scenes V-VIII of St Louis of Toulouse (L 149 and 151). Immediately after this, another page is bound showing the legend of Brice consisting of four scenes. This folio (L 154) has no corresponding leaf. Since page 149 is *recto*, it must have been the first or third page in the quire (if we accept that the legend of Louis followed). The numbering points to two more folios dedicated to Francis preceding it, and because these two folios cannot be placed at the end of quire 19 (only one leaf would fit there) clearly folio 149 was the third in the quire. Consequently the first two leaves of the cycle of Francis were at the beginning of quire 20 and the cycle did not begin in quire 19.²⁰⁶ Fortunately the other folios from this legend have surfaced: the leaf in Metropolitan Museum²⁰⁷ may contain the closing scene, while the leaves in the Louvre and the Hermitage (16932, L 148) obviously precede the folio in the Vatican, thus forming the first two folios of the quire.

Since L 149 was the third in the quire, its partner, L 151, with scenes from Louis of Toulouse, must have

been the sixth.²⁰⁸ The numbering clearly shows that this was also preceded by another leaf from the cycle, the fifth (therefore the folio in the Metropolitan could only be the fourth in the quire). Now the question is whether the folio in Berkeley is the fifth or seventh leaf of the quire, in other words the first or the third leaf in the cycle of Louis. Since the Vatican page shows the death of the saint and two *post mortem* miracles, while the saint on the Berkeley folio is very much alive, the Berkeley leaf should precede the Vatican one.²⁰⁹ But the first picture on the Berkeley page shows a posthumous miracle and not the saint himself, which would be strange for the opening picture of a legend. Thus at present there is no answer to this question; but it appears certain that the first four folios of quire 20 deal with Francis, the next three with Louis of Toulouse and the last with Brice.²¹⁰ As such the contents of the quire can be completely reconstructed, although the order is uncertain.

The most significant divergence in the viewpoints of Levárdy and Morello surrounds quire 17: Morello does not include it in his reconstruction, while Levárdy claims it contained the one surviving leaf from the legend of St Nicholas and also the legend of St Stephen the King – a cycle that has disappeared without a trace but was certainly included in the legendary. Clearly the legend of Martin begun in the previous quire was continued here; thus space must be allowed for another leaf dedicated to this bishop-saint, formerly numbered 72 from the Rosenberg collection in Paris.²¹¹ It is possible that other bishops (such as Adalbert) also appeared in this quire. Thus we accept the existence of a seventeenth quire, despite Morello's reconstruction.

The other point of uncertainty is the question of quires 9 and 10. In 1972 Levárdy divided up the quires numbered 9, 10, and 11 into two quaternions. The numbering in the facsimile edition follows this too (applying 16 numbers to these pages); later he broke the sixteen pages up into three quires.²¹² His reasons rested on the assumption

that L 67 (scenes IX–X of Matthew and I–II of Philip) was the first page of a quire (since it immediately continues the narrative on the last page of the previous quire: L 66 = Matthew V–VIII), thus its corresponding leaf, L 70, ends the quire; so L 69–70 cannot be the third and fourth of the quire, but rather the seventh and eighth. He decided the next four leaves from the Morgan Library (the legends of James the Less and Bartholomew²¹³) belonged to quire 10, and were separate from quire 11 discussed above. He suggested the legend of Thomas, of which nothing remains, filled the large gap in quire 9.

Morello's reconstruction solves the problem by placing the legends of James the Less and Bartholomew in the middle of quire 9 and doing away with quire 10; he reconstructs the rest in a similar fashion to Levárdy. His solution is more appealing because of its simplicity, but it is not seamless. He is presumably correct in leaving out the proposed second folio to the legend of Bartholomew. Moreover it is also very likely that the cycle of Bartholomew ends on page L 75. After all, the text of the legend offers no basis for supposing there were two leaves preceding the folios dedicated to St James. What is uncertain however is whether Philip the Apostle was really allotted only six scenes (placing him in the most modest position among the apostles, with the apostle before him allotted ten images, and the one after him eight!) The other problem is that no space remains for Thomas in the ninth quire; only the first page of the eleventh quire could offer him a place. This, however, would place him in the last position, with the smallest number of pictures, which is strange given his position in the hierarchy. And it is even less likely that he would be completely omitted from the legendary. Morello does not address these questions, but his opinion is nevertheless supported by the quire numbers hidden on the last page of the quires (we will return to this shortly), and also because James the Less logically follows Philip the Apostle, since their feasts fall on the same day (1st of May).²¹⁴

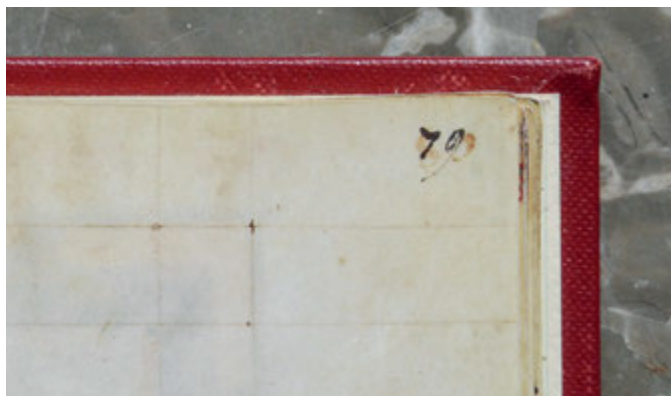


Fig. 1. The original and the later numbering on fol. 79r

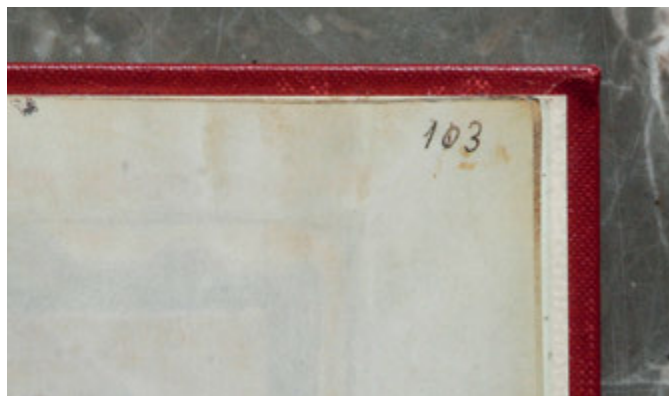


Fig. 2. The original and the later numbering on fol. 103r

The question of the beginning and the end of the codex remains. Because the codex finishes with a fragment of the legend of Catherine and provides no basis for reconstructing the ending, there is no sense in speculating.²¹⁵ However, it is possible that the Jesus cycle in the Morgan Library may come from the first pages of the legendary, and the fragments can be organized into two quaternions.²¹⁶ From these quires, a total of three sheets and another three fragments are missing. The real question is whether there were more quires before it. In the facsimile edition, Levárdy writes about two missing folios, and the reconstruction drawing from 1988 corresponds to this. Morello supposes there was an entire quire preceding the existing ones, based not only on content (it is difficult to summarize everything that happened before Jesus's encounter with the Samaritan woman in just two folios), but also on a discovery: on page 42v (= L 70) of a Roman numeral X, which Morello interprets as marking the tenth quire. This only works out if somewhere there were another full quire presently unknown (the simplest and most plausible explanation being at the beginning). Pages 63v (XIV) and 77v (XVI) are similarly marked.²¹⁷ If we accept these numbers as quire signatures then there is no room for Levárdy's supposed tenth "apostle's" quire.

This offers no clues, however, as to the existence of quire 17. But we can use another observation in recon-

structing it. Morello pointed out that in the second quire of the Vatican codex an earlier, probably seventeenth century, page numbering is hidden underneath the present numbering (see e.g. Fig.1). He also mentions that this records a more complete version than the one we have now; and a leaf from this second quire later surfaced in the Hermitage.²¹⁸ Careful examination has shown that this earlier numbering can be followed through the entire codex ending with the final three folios, on which probably the numbers read 120-121-122 (see Fig.2). Based on this we can conclude that at the time of the earlier numbering the pages from the booklet produced for Angelo Saluzzo presently in the Morgan Library were already missing, along with another twenty-eight pages. But at that time there were still sixteen additional leaves in the Vatican collection. Significantly the cropped leaves that have since turned up are all from among these sixteen folios – thus there is hope that another six may be found.²¹⁹ As for quire 17, folios 77 (L 122) and 78 (L 131) from the Vatican codex were originally numbered 82 and 85; therefore, between quires 16 and 18 there was indeed at least one quaternion, of which one leaf has survived.²²⁰

With this observation we have arrived at the question of whether there might have been more quires between the surviving quaternions. Although no such jumps in

II			M 1	M 2	M 3	M 4	M 5	M 6
	Jesus Christ (<i>continued</i>)							
III	M 7	M 8	M 9		M 10	M 11	M 12	M 13
IV	V 1r	V 2v	V 3r	V 4v	V 5r	V 6v	V 7r	V 8v
V	Mary	John the Baptist	Peter apostle		E-33	V 12v	V 13r	V 14v
VI	V 15r	V 16v	V 17r	V 18v	V 19r	V 20v	V 21r	V 22v
VII	Andrew	John apostle		M 14	M 15	M 16	V 25r	V 26v
VIII	V 23r	V 24v			V 27r	V 28v	V 29r	V 30v
IX	V 35r	V 36v	V 37r	M 16	M 16	V 38v	V 39r	V 40v
X	Philip	James the Less	Bartholomew	Simon-Judas		V 41r		V 42v
XI	Thomas?	Mark	Luke, Stephen	Lawrence		V 43r	V 44v	V 45r

XII	V 47r	V 48v	V 49r	V 50v	V 51r	V 52v	V 53r	V 54v
XIII	Fabian	Sebastian	Vincent	Blaise	George	V 55r		V 56Av
XIV	John and Paul	Vitus	Christopher	Cosma	V 57r	V 58v	V 59r	V 60r
XV	and Damian	Clement, Peter Martyr, Sixtus, Donatus	V 61v	V 62r	V 63v	V 64r	V 65v	V 66r
XVI	Stanislas	Demetrius	Gerardus	Thomas Becket	V 67v	V 68r	V 69v	V 70r
XVII	Sylvester	Gregory	Ambrose Augustine	Jerome Martin	V 71v	V 72r	V 73v	M 25
XVIII	(Rosenberg)	Nicholas	M 24	V 74v	V 75r	E-31	V 76r	V 77v
XIX	V 78r	V 79v	V 80r	V 81v	V 82r	V 83v	V 84r	V 85v
XX	Emeric	Ladislav	V 86r	E-34	V 87r	V 88v	V 89r	V 90v
XXI	Benedict	Antony	Bernard	Dominic	M 26	V 91r	MM	B
XXII	Francis	Louis of Toulouse	Brice	V 92v	V 93v	V 94r	V 95v	V 96r
XXIII	Giles	Alexis	Eustache	Paul the Hermit Remy	V 97v	V 98r	V 99v	V 100r
XXIV	Hilary	Mary Magdalene	Catherine	V 101v	V 102r	V 103v	V 104r	V 105v

Table 7. The new reconstruction of the original manuscript, indicating the preservation place

(Vatican Library; Morgan Library, Saluzzo booklet; Morgan Library, single pages; Berkely Library; Louvre; Hermitage)

the seventeenth century numbering would indicate this, it is also true that this numbering fails to account for the first three missing quires. The presentation of the legends is fairly continuous and rarely adjusts to the beginnings and endings of quires, thus a good starting point in this examination is the junctions between legends. Of the 22 (or 21 if we leave out quire 10) quaternions supposed by Levárdy, twelve contain legends that continue in the succeeding quire; the rest have legends which end on the last folio and therefore could have been followed by a now unknown quire: the quaternion depicting the final scenes of the life of Jesus (although the death of Mary should logically follow this); the problematic quires 9-10 (but here it is unlikely that an entire quire devoted to just St Thomas the Apostle would have followed, and no other saint would fit in the sequence); quire 11 (at the most Vincent could have come between Lawrence and Fabian, but he appears in the next quire); quires 14 and 15 (these are martyred bishops whose sequences would be continuous anyway); quire 17 (realistically, no one would have been placed between Sts Stephen and Emeric); quire 18 (Ladislás and Benedict are not closely related, thus a quire could be missing here); quire 19 (although it is unlikely a complete quire is missing between Dominic and Francis); and quire 20 (it is possible between Brice and Giles). In any case if we accept that the mark on 77v indicates quaternion XVI (which would be reasonable), then there are no missing quires through 16. Thus missing gatherings can be supposed only after quires 18 and 20, but there is no evidence of this. In fact quite the contrary: there is nothing that suggests an entire gathering was removed from the middle of the codex before the seventeenth century numbering, and the original numbering of the quires corresponds perfectly to the later page numbering.²²¹ We know for certain that since then only fragments of quire 17 have disappeared from the codex (from which an image has survived in the United States). Therefore, although we cannot exclude the possibility, it

is highly unlikely that entire quires are missing from the surviving material.

In summary, a large part of the codex can be reconstructed based on the structure of the quires and other information (see Table 7; cf. Appendix A, Table 25). The picture is perfectly clear in the case of thirteen quires, and there are few uncertainties surrounding another two quaternions (13 and 20). One or two pages cannot be reconstructed in two other quires (11 and 19), while quires 9-10 and 17 have proven particularly problematic. The first two quaternions can also be analyzed even if the clear structure of these gatherings has been lost. What remains to be seen is what this reconstruction means in terms of interpreting the various legends.

I.5. RECONSTRUCTION OF THE LEGENDS

Every further examination requires a clear understanding of the degree to which the legends have remained intact, and the degree to which we can verify the gaps. Presently, we are not even certain how much of the legends are covered by the surviving leaves, and Levárdy's repeated modifications of his reconstruction do little to resolve these uncertainties: the facsimile edition is the most complete, but in several places it contradicts Levárdy's own later reconstruction and also Morello's codicological analysis.²²² As a result a re-examination is necessary. In the previous section we tried to place the reconstruction of the structure of the codex on solid ground; now we can build on this further.

The first question we need to ask is whether any legends were completely lost? Naturally we can never know for sure; but it is very likely that the codex included a legend of St Thomas the Apostle, St Stephen the King, perhaps St Adalbert and an indefinable group of female saints. The occasional break in continuity between the quires allows us, but does not require us, to consider the

existence of more gatherings. In any case, the number of additional saints was probably not large,²²³ and we can only guess at their content and volume. In the following analysis, therefore, we shall only deal with the reconstruction of the existing legends.

The most reliable starting point for this comes from the former inscriptions, *tituli*, specifically the numbering they include. There are six legends in all that are not represented by even one image in the Vatican codex, and therefore we have no original inscriptions either (Jesus, James the Less, Bartholomew, John and Paul, Vitus, and Nicholas). The structure of the quires and content help determine the degree to which these are fragmentary.

The majority of the legends have lost their beginning or end; and in some cases the center is missing (such as in Jesus, John and James the Greater²²⁴), but generally only parts of the folio and not the entire leaf are missing. If we suppose that the present day first leaf of the legend of Christopher is indeed the first in his cycle, and the present day second leaf of the legend of Dominic is actually the third, then we have two more legends missing one folio from the middle. This can clearly be followed in part from the numbering and in part from the structure of the quires.

A reconstruction of the beginnings of the legends can be approached in several ways. We have a reliable reference point if:

- > The numbering begins with one (in forty-two instances²²⁵)
- > The numbering did not survive, but the legend begins in the lower half of the page (Vitus, Anthony)
- > The numbering on the first folio is lost, but can be reconstructed from the numbering on the next folio (Paul, Mark, Francis, St Louis of Toulouse?, Eustace, Mary Magdalene)
- > The beginning is lost, but we can determine what is missing based on the structure of the quires (John and Paul)
- > The numbering is missing, but the first scene can

be determined based on the logic of the legend (Bartholomew, Nicholas, Christopher?)

- > Uncertainty surrounds the stories of Jesus and James the Less. Based on Morello's reconstruction of the codex, it is probable that only the first image from James the Less was lost. As for the legend of Jesus, however, Morello reconstructed ten missing folios preceding today's first leaf based on the surviving page numbering.²²⁶

As for the ending of the legends, the following variations occur:

- > An inscription *ultima* appears telling us the legend has concluded (in twenty-six cases²²⁷)
- > No *ultima* inscription appears, but another legend begins on the same page (Mary, John the Baptist, John and Paul, Benedict)
- > There is no inscription and no *ultima*, but the structure of the quire and the legend clearly indicate this is the last page (in seventeen cases²²⁸)
- > The last leaf is lost, but can be reconstructed based on the structure of the quires (George, Vitus)
- > The inscription is lost, but the logic of the legend tells us this is the last page (James the Less, Bartholomew, Dominic?)

The endings of six legends are unclear: Philip, Lawrence, Martin, Nicholas, St Louis of Toulouse and Catherine. Moreover, the inscription *ultima* is not absolute proof that this is the end of the legend,²²⁹ because there are examples in which the author of the *titulus* was too hasty, applying the inscription to the second to the last leaf: scene 12 of Mary Magdalene (L 168d: *Vltima quomodo fuit sepulta*) depicts her burial, which is usually the final image; but in this case the legend includes four *post mortem* miracles which are continuously numbered (XIII–XVI, L 169a–d).

Therefore, the original assemblage of legends can be determined with a satisfactory level of certainty in the

majority of cases (see Appendix A, Table 15). A surprisingly large number of legends have survived intact: thirty-eight cycles without question, and probably the legend of St Bartholomew too. (It is also possible that the story of Dominic consisted only of the pages we have.) Twelve legends are fragmentary, but we know exactly how many leaves are missing; among these, the legend of James the Less presumably lacks only one image. Finally there are seven of which we cannot determine the number of missing leaves. The legend of Philip, which we touched on when discussing quire 9-10, may lack only one leaf, and the same might be true for the legend of Dominic, although it is difficult to decide. The cycle of Lawrence has at least one leaf lost, but based on the structure of the quire, it is more likely that two are missing. We have even less to guide us in the cycles of Jesus,²³⁰ Martin,²³¹ Nicholas²³² and Catherine.

All this means that in addition to the 133 complete and nine fragmentary leaves, there are eighteen more that we can place in the legendary with some certainty. If we count

twenty-two quires (by merging quires 9-10, including quire 17, stopping at quire 22, and also assuming the cycle of Jesus consists of three quires) then we have a total of 176 pages, of which 160 are known; thus only sixteen are currently lost.²³³ The proportions are worse, however, if we look just at the number of images, since the fragmentary leaves ruin our statistics. Of the 704 images twenty-two quires should contain, 549 (553 if we count leaves known only from descriptions) have survived, and thus 155 (or 151) are lost. The table below summarizes what we know:

Table 8. Summary of the preserved and supposed pages of the manuscript

Pages:		Surviving images:	Lost images:	total:
133	Surviving pages:	532	—	532
9	Fragmentary pages:	17	19	36
18	Identified pages:	—	72	72
16	Unidentified pages: ²³⁴	—	64	64
Total:		549	155	704

NOTES

- 1 It is possible that some of the particularly important images, such as the dedication image (perhaps, but less likely the Crucifixion) were prepared in a different format. A portion of lost text is presumed by Török 2000a, 357, Török 2002, 301. Tünde Wehli mentions the possibility too: Három kódex 2000, 73.
- 2 *Sotheby & Co. Catalogue*, London, June 18–24, 1896, no. 939. Quoted in Harrsen 1949, 50. At the time Tregaskis acquired it, Ricci 1937, 1433.
- 3 Harrsen-De Corte Green 1933 to April 1934, 42, no. 86. Quoted in Harrsen 1949, 50, Török 1992, 567; Ricci 1937, 1433. Harrsen 1958, 49 and Török 1992, 566 wrote 1909, while Harrsen 1949, 39 wrote 1908. We do not know which date is correct.
- 4 Ricci 1937, 1433; Firenze, c. 1350. Among the saints he mentions Bartholomew; the supplementary volume to this takes Harrsen's thoughts into consideration: Faye–Bond 1962, 343–344; c. 1340, the work of Italian and Hungarian masters, related to the Neksei Bible. Also dealing with this: *The Art News*, June 1935 and March 5 1938. Also: H. Woodruff, *The Illustrated Passion Cycle*, in: *Art in America*, July 1938, 34. See: Harrsen 1949, 50.
- 5 Harrsen 1949.
- 6 Harrsen 1958. The page was first published by F. B. Adams in 1955.
- 7 *Sotheby Sale*, 11 April, 1961, No. 82. First publication: W. M. Milliken, *Pages from Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts from the 10th to the early 16th centuries*. Exhibition, University Art Gallery, University of California, Berkeley, 1963. No. 26. Cited in: Török 1992. A reference was first made to it in Hungary (referring to István Genthon) by Levárdy 1964, 161 and note 15.
- 8 Poncelet 1910.
- 9 He gives the wrong page numbers of the codex (115 instead of 106) and he mistakenly interprets the last two pictures of the legend of Christopher as the end of the legend of St George. Levárdy corrected this mistake in 1964.
- 10 W. M. Voelkle called Gyöngyi Török's attention to this in 1986. Voelkle had seen it at Edward L. Lubin's. Török 1992, note 18, Török 1993.
- 11 Boehm 1995, *Mirror* 1999 no. 172.
- 12 Vayer–Levárdy 1972. News of the discovery is given by Levárdy 1964 notes 161 and 165 and Török 1993 also recalls this.
- 13 Bader–Starr 1986.
- 14 Bauer-Eberhardt 1993–96, 137–139, ill. 1, although mistakenly identified with Bruno of Querfurt.
- 15 Török 2000a, Török 2000b (in color), Török 2001, Török 2002. For the research history of the page, see also part III, section 4.
- 16 Karl 1916; Karl 1925 – by this time he was aware of Ricci's catalogue of 1913.
- 17 E.g. Folz 1984.
- 18 Karl 1929. Later authors generally refer to the 1925 study. An exception worth mentioning is the LCI word entry: Hilary (vol. 6, 534–535).
- 19 Horváth 1928.
- 20 Lukcsics 1930. In 1924 Lukcsics researched the volume in the Vatican, but hearing the lecture by András Péter he gave up for awhile; but it was Horváth's article that made him reconsider, since Horváth still had to refer to Karl's study of 1925. Lukcsics published all the pictures of the Hungarian saints too.
- 21 Gerevich 1930.
- 22 Marosi 1973.
- 23 This was defended in his 1990 academic doctoral dissertation; the chapter on St Ladislav appeared in German: Marosi 1987–88; and in an abbreviated form in Hungarian: Marosi 1995.
- 24 Lukács 1980; László 1993.
- 25 Kerny 1993.
- 26 Wehli 1986, Wehli 1994a and Wehli 1994b. Her lecture on the figure of St Gerhard in history of medieval Hungarian given at the conference on 23 September 1996 entitled *Szent Gellért emlékezete 1046–1996* [In memory of St Gerhard 1046–1996] was never published.
- 27 Kauffmann 1970; Kauffmann 1973.
- 28 Dorsch 1983 gives a thorough introduction to the codex, forming an independent opinion, but following Poncelet and Kauffman he also considers the last two pictures of the legend of St Christopher to belong to the Legend of St George.
- 29 David-Daniel 1958 knows about the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, but only mentions it in the appendix, but with incorrect classification number, and he is clearly unfamiliar with each picture.
- 30 Huber 1930, cited by Dubler 1953 and Török 1992.
- 31 Dubler 1953.
- 32 XV. Centennario 1980, no. 6, 6–7.
- 33 Madas 1996.
- 34 Omaggio a San Marco 1994, no. 47, 148–149. (G. Morello); Martino 2006, no. 4, 86. (D. Buran); István, a szent király 2013, no. 19, 302–304. (T. Kerny)
- 35 Śnieżyńska-Stolot 1972; more recently: Knapieński 1996.
- 36 In the text of a 1989 lecture: Dal Prà 1990b. Strangely the codex does not appear in his later, thorough studies: Dal Prà 1990, Dal Prà 1991.
- 37 Maddalo 1994.
- 38 Cannon 1998, 47, note 93.
- 39 Cobianchi 2003.
- 40 Iturbe 2001, 109. The author only mentions four Vatican scenes; in fact, two scenes can be found in the codex in Rome and four more in St Petersburg.
- 41 Jansen 1995; Jansen 2000 especially 34–35, 77, 218, 325.
- 42 Denoël 2004. The author examines the iconography of St Andrew in terms of medieval France, thus the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* produced in Bologna does not belong to his subject.
- 43 Kobielus 1996.
- 44 Newton 1980; Marosi 1991 and 1995.
- 45 Madas 1992; 1996.
- 46 Liturgie 1993. A reconstruction of this was published in Bauer-Eberhardt 1993–96, containing the first publication of the page in the Louvre.
- 47 Schmidt 1956.
- 48 Bucher 1970.
- 49 For a list of the works, see the bibliography at the end. Levárdy 1963 and 1964. Between the first Italian-language publication and the Hungarian version there are only insignificant differences, thus this study refers to the Hungarian edition. All of the relevant questions can be found in the Italian study too.
- 50 Levárdy 1988. Here he refers to a manuscript that was never published. We know that he participated in the preparation of a newer facsimile edition that was also never published.
- 51 Vayer 1985.
- 52 Mollay 1977.
- 53 I. Lajos 1982 no. 23, 132–133 and 120–123; Kódexek 1986, no. 61, 105–106; MoMT II 1987, 203–209, 365–369, 825; Wehli 1991; Wehli 1992; KMTL 1994, 423–424; Három kódex 2000, 71–120, cf. Szakács 2001a.

- 54 Török 1992, 2000a, 2000b, 2001 and 2002.
- 55 Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990. The rewritten version also contains a large number of mistakes, thus in the appendices we make another attempt.
- 56 Három kódex 2000. In this Tünde Wehli frequently refers to my doctoral dissertation completed in 1997, which serves as the basis for this volume. Parts of it had already appeared in print: Szakács 1997, Klaniczay–Sajó–Szakács 1998, Szakács 1999a, 1999b, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2001c, 2006b, 2007, 2009, 2011a, 2011b, 2011c, 2013. The full text in Hungarian: Szakács 2006a. The present English edition is an updated version of it.
- 57 Thousand Years 2001, 285–287, no. 3.2. (Török Gy.)
- 58 L'Europe des Anjou 2001, 340, no. 114.
- 59 Török 2000a, 2000b, 2001 and 2002.
- 60 The classification number of the booklet without pictures: New York, Morgan Library, M.360.A. The title page was published and the inscription transcribed by: Török 1992, 567.
- 61 Harrsen 1949, 49.
- 62 As far as we know only Gerhard Schmidt attempted a Latin title in 1956: the title “Iconographia hagiographica” is mentioned in Schmidt 1956, 32. This form had no followers. Again in 1994 at the exhibition of St Mark they used the term “Vitae Sanctorum”, Omaggio a San Marco 1994, 148. (G. Morello).
- 63 Karl 1916, 57.
- 64 Horváth 1928, 173.
- 65 Karl 1929, 185.
- 66 Gerevich 1929.
- 67 Gerevich 1930, 207.
- 68 Hoffmann 1929, 20.
- 69 Berkovits 1938, 14. She uses this in the 1965 summary and in the second edition of this in 1975: Berkovits 1965, 1975² 30.
- 70 Dercsényi 1941, 138.; Dercsényi 1942a, 113.; Dercsényi 1942b, 159.: *Légendaire du Vatican*.
- 71 Levárdy 1964, 194. Similarly in the Italian version: “Leggendario Ungherese Illustrato” instead of “Leggendario Vaticano Illustrato”, Levárdy 1963, 118.
- 72 Levárdy 1963, 161. The term does not appear anywhere else in the study. The situation is the same for the earlier Italian version: “Leggendario Ungherese degli Angioi” in the title. Levárdy 1964, 75.
- 73 As exceptions, some older versions: Lukács 1980, 168: Vatikáni Legendárium [Vatican Legendary], László 1993, 46, the same.
- 74 For example Marosi 1973, 36–37, Gnudi 1972: “Leggendario” angioino; Conti 1981, 85.: Leggendario Angioino; Franz v. Assisi 1982, 547: Anjou-Legendarium, Török 1993, 26: Anjou Legendárium.
- 75 Silber 1980, 43: Hungarian Legendary; Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990 and Liturgie 1993, 234: „Ungarisches Legendarium.“
- 76 Thus Kauffmann 1970, 90.
- 77 Levárdy 1964, 194. Similarly: Levárdy 1963, 118.
- 78 The distinction made by J. Beletth is cited and the term *legendarium* is used as a synonym for *passionale* based on these principles in: Michon 1990, 28.
- 79 Ross 1993, 67 and 87, note 2.
- 80 Surprisingly, *lectionarium* has cropped up recently, but there is no basis for using this term, cf.: L'Europe des Anjou 2001, 340., no. 114
- 81 Edit Madas in 1992 proposed a four-word title: Madas 1992, 96.
- 82 Gerevich 1909–10. With this he challenges the views of Dvoák, who did not assign a role to local workshops, such as Bologna, alongside the major centers (Paris, Tuscany, Naples, Avignon, Prague). Cf. Marosi 1995, 185–186.
- 83 Dercsényi 1941, 1942a and b.
- 84 Toesca 1930, 36.
- 85 Horváth 1928 174; Lukcsics 1930, 5, 19; Hoffmann 1928, 68 and 1929, 19–20.
- 86 Dercsényi also suggested that the Nekcsei Bible and the codex were made in the same workshop, but decades apart. Berkovits on the other hand was certain that the apprentice to the miniaturist who made the Nekcsei Bible was responsible for the legendary. Berkovits 1947.
- 87 At the time the Collegium Christi of Esztergom was not even standing, since it was only founded in c. 1394 by János Budai. Körmendy 1983.
- 88 “The logical place for the execution of the commission was Buda itself, since the court was at that time initiating its leadership as the cultural center of the kingdom.” Harrsen 1949 34. This entirely overestimates Buda's role during this period. Perhaps because of this view, or because of the clear faults in her logic, many have assumed that Harrsen meant to place the origins of the codex in Esztergom: Levárdy 1964 161; Gnudi 1972; Wehli in MoMT II 1987, 369.
- 89 Levárdy 1963 ill. 1964. Within Bolognese manuscript illumination, he placed the codex among the works of Pseudo-Niccolò (1964, 191).
- 90 Levárdy 1973. Developing this further, he identified Hertul as the so-called third hand: Levárdy 1988, 32.
- 91 Mollay 1977.
- 92 Pl. MoMT II 1987, 369 (T. Wehli).
- 93 Wehli in MoMT II 1987, 369, and – with less certainty about the influences of Pseudo-Niccolò, in: I. Lajos 1982, 132 and Kódexek 1986, 105.
- 94 The distinction between the work of Niccolò di Giacomo and Pseudo-Niccolò was made by L. Ciaccio (Appunti intorno alla miniatura bolognese del secolo XIV: Pseudo-Niccolò e Niccolò di Giacomo, in: *L'Arte* X (1907), 105.), and was later refined by Erbach von Fürstenau (La miniatura bolognese del trecento, in: *L'Arte* XIV (1911), 1–12, 107–117.). Longhi dubbed Pseudo-Niccolò the *Illustratore* (*Guida alla mostra della pittura bolognese del Trecento*. Bologna, 1950, 15). On this question, see: Gnudi 1972, 571, Marosi 1995, 185–186.
- 95 Conti 1979, 1981. Cf. Marosi 1995, 186. Tünde Wehli placed the origins of the Nekcsei Bible and the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* directly in the workshop of the *Maestro del 1328*: Wehli 1988, 29.
- 96 Gibbs 1992; Gibbs 1994.
- 97 Puymanova 1981.
- 98 Gibbs 1994, 216. See also L'Engle 2004 and Manfredi 2010.
- 99 Bauer-Eberhardt 1993–96, 139. See also Török 2001, 418.
- 100 Marosi 1995, 195, note 295.
- 101 Wehli, in: Kódexek 1986, 105; KTML 1994, 423. (T. Wehli).
- 102 Levárdy 1964, 182–190, I. Lajos 1982, 121–123 (T. Wehli), MoMT II. 1987, 366 (T. Wehli).
- 103 Wehli 1992, 217.
- 104 Wehli 1991, 146–147, putting it as a question.
- 105 Három kódex 2000, 77.
- 106 For example: Török 1992: 1338; Liturgie 1993: 1335–1340; Wehli 1991: c. 1345; Wehli 1992: mid-1330s; Madas 1996: c. 1330, Bauer-Eberhardt 1993–96: 1338–40.
- 107 Török 1992. Later she has more firmly denied the possibility that the same master worked on both the Nekcsei Bible and the codex: Török 2000a 357, 2001 417.
- 108 Schmidt 1961, 1962 and 2003; Gibbs 1994.
- 109 No one has debated this since Karl 1916.
- 110 T. Gerevics and literary historians have been satisfied to place the codex in a Hungarian tradition.
- 111 Berkovits 1947.
- 112 Dorsch 1983, 303. He speaks of the *musterbuchartiger Charakter*.

- 113 Cf. Jenni 1978.
- 114 Harrsen 1949, 36.
- 115 Levárdy 1964, 174–177. Citations: 174, 175, 177. Levárdy 1973 reiterates this.
- 116 The date of St Louis of Toulouse’s canonization.
- 117 He examines the Anjou patronage of different *titulus* churches, and notes which feasts the birthdays of the children in the family fall on.
- 118 Kódexek 1986, 105: “It was made for Charles Robert’s library or for the use of Prince Andrew who was being educated in Naples.”
- 119 Bader–Starr 1986, 4: “probably under the direct patronage of King Charles Robert.” Others have made similar assertions: Madas 1992, 96, 1996, 370; Liturgie 1993, 234.
- 120 Boehm 1995, 24: “[...] the manuscript was painted for Charles II of Hungary and his wife, Elizabeth, a Polish princess.”
- 121 Nieżyńska-Stolot 1972; Knapíński 1996.
- 122 Wehli 1991, 147.
- 123 Levárdy 1964, 175.
- 124 Dercsényi–Zádor 1980, 108.
- 125 I. Lajos 1982, 123.
- 126 Wehli 1986, 57: “It is something to consider, since James of Piacenza was royal doctor and bishop, but there is a better basis for supposing that Csanád Telegdi, as a confidant to the king and given his role in the Church, had a hand in designing the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.” She made a similar statement in a lecture at the conference on St Gerard in 1996. In her opinion, several were involved in developing the content, each asserting their own local traditions (for example the influence of Pannonhalma can be felt in the legend of St Emeric.)
- 127 G. B. Saluzzo (1579–1642) was a well-known figure of Genoa who had an important role in the political and diplomatic life of the city. A. Saluzzo († 1638) spent most of his life in Rome, where he was the provost of Chiesa Nuova (alongside other posts) according to 18th century sources: Harrsen 1949, 38 and 49; Török 1992, 567–569.
- 128 Harrsen 1949, 38 and 49; Harrsen 1958, 49.
- 129 While Harrsen considers it only conceivable that the codex was acquired by Saluzzo from Poland (Harrsen 1958, 49) Hungarian scholars present this as fact (Levárdy 1964, 194): “The codex came from among the treasures of the Jagiello family and passed through the hands of Angelo and Giovanni Saluzzo, and Italian and later French art dealers, until it found its way to its present place of preservation.” According to Levárdy 1973, 46, “the further history of the pages can be gleaned from the date 1630 on one of the Morgan pages (M.360.XI) [in the footnote he quotes the text from the title page of the Saluzzo booklet, which is not found, however, on the marked folio, and in which there is no mention of Poland.] Giovanni Battista Saluzzo of Genoa received the volume from the Polish royal family in return for diplomatic measures taken to free King Casmir from prison.” This idea then spread: I. Lajos 1982, 132: “The mark 1630 on one of the Morgan folios tells us that Giovanni Battista Saluzzo got the codex from King John Casmir”; Wehli 1992, 217: “A note on one of the folios in the Morgan Library informs us that the codex was given to Giovanni Battista Saluzzo by the Polish king John Casmir in 1630”; KMTL 1994 423–424: “According to a note the illustrated book was acquired by G. B. Saluzzo in the 17th century from the Polish royal library. Saluzzo split the volume in two and gave half to his brother, who placed it in the Vatican library (Rome).” In fact, it was not the material given to Angelo Saluzzo, but the other, larger portion of the codex, which (through several steps) finally entered the collection of the Vatican. MoMT II 1987, 368: “According to data from 1630 (Vat. Barb. Lat. 9844) Giovanni Battista was in possession of the Vatican folios, which comprise the corpus of the codex. He got the codex from Casmir John, the king of Poland.” According to Harrsen 1949, 38, Saluzzo’s Polish connections do indeed relate to the material in question from the Barberini collection, but (as far as we know) there is no mention of the codex. It should be noted that the king of Poland was Sigismund until 1632 and Wladislas in 1632–48. Saluzzo did take measures to help the Polish prince, but only in 1638, eight years after the booklet was assembled.
- 130 It is difficult to understand why the Crucifixion was left out and why for example, only the first picture of the life of St Nicholas is included.
- 131 These are in the archives of Genoa. World War II prevented Harrsen (1949, 38) from examining them and Hungarian researchers likewise had no opportunity for decades.
- 132 G. Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 22. This is why the pages have such a large classification number (no. 8541), which dates the library’s acquisition of them to between 1825 (no. 8486) and 1844 (no. 8944). Harrsen 1949, 39.
- 133 Lukcsics 1930, 5: “According to Delehaye there are more pages in Paris that may have belonged to it” and in a footnote: “It seems that Napoleon transported the codex to Paris along with other Vatican treasures, but after Napoleon’s downfall the codex was not returned to Rome in its entirety.” Harrsen 1949, 39 refuted this. Delehaye may have been thinking of the pages in the Rosenberg collection, but it is also possible that he saw more substantial material, since the page that was acquired by the Louvre in Paris in 1912 had been owned by G. Menard.
- 134 G. Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990.
- 135 Harrsen considers it possible that similar booklets will crop up, such as the one that entered the Morgan Library. Harrsen 1949, 40.
- 136 Harrsen also wrote that a large part if the collection of Giulio Sterbini was built on the collection of Gabriele Laureani, who was prefect at the Vatican in 1845: Harrsen 1949, 66. According to Harrsen, Sterbini could have acquired the pages between 1845–74: Harrsen 1949, 39.
- 137 Hans Swarzenski previously saw the page which entered in 1955 (from the legend of St Dominic) in a private collection: Christopher Norris of Polesden Lacey, Bookham (England). Török 1992, 569.
- 138 Correct information is given about how the pages entered the collection (including the first mentions cited thus far): Török 1992.
- 139 Török 2000a–2002. See below for details.
- 140 Karl 1916 and 1925.
- 141 Karl 1929.
- 142 Lukcsics 1930.
- 143 László 1993, 17–20. He reports one text as originating from the Érdy codex, but this is not possible.
- 144 Marosi 1995, 200–201, note 354.
- 145 He examined several random examples: Levárdy 1964, and later explained the entire codex: Levárdy 1973.
- 146 Based on Levárdy, the majority of works dealing with the codex mention about fifty-nine legends.
- 147 Besides this there is a codex from the first half of the 14th century, which tells the legends of the three Hungarian saints (Ladislás, Stephen and Emeric) in the appropriate place in the calendar: Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. lat. 14 600. Madas 1992.
- 148 *Legende sanctorum regni Hungariae in Lombardica historia non contente*, Strassburg c. 1486, Venice 1498 and 1512. Tarnai 1984, 80–87. See also: Madas 1992, 97–98.
- 149 Among the Central-European saints, at present Adalbert, Sigismund, Zorard, Benedict, King Stephen, Wenceslas and Elizabeth are not found in the legendary. Originally many of them probably did appear.

- 150 Kulcsár 1973, 64–68. Regarding St Ladislav, it is important that Bonfini too refers to different version than that in the Illustrated Chronicle – but it is not certain that this was the unknown Ladislav legend he sought. It may also have been a version from a chronicle (cf. Henrik Mügelin's German chronicle). Kulcsár 1967.
- 151 Kulcsár 1973, 68.
- 152 Dorsch 1983, 303 considers the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* a weak imitation of a quality collection of images. T. Wehli also suggests a prototype: MoMT II. 1987, 369: "A pattern book must have been used that was available not only to the painters of the codex but to Miklós Vásári." (Obviously its not exactly a pattern book [on the nature of these, see Jenni 1978], but rather common examples.) We will return to this question at the end of this study.
- 153 Since this edition is fairly common, we shall refer to it also: Graesse. The critical edition: Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda Aurea*. A cura di Giovanni Paolo Maggioni. Firenze: SISMEL - Edizione del Galluzzo 1998. The English language version is also referred to in this study: Jacobus de Voragine, *The Golden Legend. Readings on Saints*. Trans. by William Granger Ryan. Vols. 1–2. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995.
- 154 *Legenda aurea* 1986; Fleith 1991.
- 155 Fleith 1990, 45–46.
- 156 Rhein 1995.
- 157 Boureau 1984.
- 158 Poncet 1910, 226–227.
- 159 Levárdy 1964, 161.
- 160 Cf. Levárdy 1963, 1964, Vayer–Levárdy 1972, Levárdy 1973 and 1988. Cf. the next two sections!
- 161 At the same time, as this is the only somewhat complete and most accessible edition, this study will refer to those numbers. The numbering in the Levárdy edition is summarized along with the classification numbers and content in Appendix A, table 14.
- 162 In Levárdy's edition 533 pictures from 138 folios appear. A page from St Petersburg and the two pages later found in the United States and Paris are not included (according to Bader–Starr 1986, 3, folio 135 has been published).
- 163 Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990 13. According to Levárdy 1973 p. 17 "the size of the parchment folios is 283 X 215 mm." The folios were trimmed during binding.
- 164 Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, notes 22 and 16: G. Morello, Il Museo "Cristiano" di Benedetto XIV, in: *Bollettino Monumenti Musei e Gallerie Pontificie*, 2 (1981): 77.
- 165 Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 13. In contrast to the catalogue of 1993, the Vatican edition incorrectly refers to 105 pages, while the main text mentions 109: Liturgie 1993, 234. The number 206 appearing in the catalogue of the National Széchényi Library's 1985–1986 exhibition is obviously a typographical error: Kódexek 1986, 105.
- 166 Levárdy 1964, 161 and note 16.
- 167 Vayer–Levárdy 1972, 71–72. In keeping with this Levárdy 1964, 173 writes about just 16 pictures (4 pages).
- 168 Levárdy 1973, 17. According to the 1985–1986 National Széchényi Library catalogue "the size of the Hermitage pages is unknown." Kódexek 1986, 105.
- 169 Levárdy 1973, 17.
- 170 The classification number E 16931 is mistakenly written by Morello (in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, note 8).
- 171 Tibor Klaniczay noted the anomalies in the classification in his 1975 review, although, not knowing about Vayer and Levárdy's article from 1972, he left the question open (Klaniczay 1976, 129–130).
- 172 Ricci 1937, 1433, Harrsen 1958, 49 and Török 1992, 566. (According to Harrsen 1949, 39 he purchased it in 1908).
- 173 Acta Jesu [Christi] et aliorum Sanctor[um] / praeclaris imaginibus / expressa / Cum suis argumentis / Io[hannes] Baptista Salutius / Angelo Salutio / D[at] D[onat] D[edicat] / Romae 9. Martij, / Anno D[omi]ni MDCXXX. The inscription on the title page was transcribed: Levárdy 1973, 53, note 96 (with several mistakes); Török 1992, 567, in which she publishes a picture too.
- 174 For more, see table 3.
- 175 According to Levárdy the fragments of two different folios appear on pages XIV and XVI: L 45 and L 62, as well as L 48 and L 63. (See the corresponding items in the facsimile edition! [Levárdy 1973]). Thus he published Picture L 62 incorrectly with the number XIV instead of XVI. In reality, on page XIV one fragment of folio L 45 is found. Correctly: Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 20; Török 1992, note 12.
- 176 The difference in the original and the present-day number of pages frequently leads to misunderstandings, and an incorrect publication of facts. That's why Morello (Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 16) writes about 139 surviving pages, although there should be 141 given the original number of folios; in the reconstruction drawing (ibid., 16–18) he shows 141 pages, including the folio of St Nicholas.
- 177 Levárdy 1973, 17 (about the 1964 purchase). Similarly in an earlier article: Levárdy 1964, 163 (he learned about page "360 d" from István Genthon, p. 161, note 16). Also Bader–Starr (1986 notes 2 and 8) wrote about four new pages (although these are unspecified). According to Török 1992, 570 the purchase took place in 1961.
- 178 Interestingly Levárdy (1964, 173) writes about 103 scenes, presumably a result of a typo or an error in counting.
- 179 Török 1992, 569 corrected Levárdy's mistake. Worth noting, there are problems with the interpretation of the pages too: Levárdy could not accurately identify the scenes from the legend of Pope Gregory, while the librarians in the Morgan Library have (we believe incorrectly) registered it as the story of St Melanios. For more, see the analysis of the Legend of St Gregory!
- 180 Ricci 1913, 26. The page of the undetermined bishop-saint has never been published. For our hypothesis concerning his identity see the analysis of the legend of St Martin.
- 181 G. Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 21 – supplemented by note 10 (p. 23), in which he declares that 360a = XXV and 360b = XXXVI [sic!] are pages formerly from the Rosenberg collection, and page 27 = 360c was the gift of Rosenwald. Thus the scenes on the first page of Ricci's were thought to be from the legend of Gregory, which is impossible. See also p. 13 ("27 Blätter") and the reconstruction drawing (p. 17).
- 182 The first publication of it in connection with the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* was Török 1992 and Török 1993. On the latest change, see Boehm 1995, 24. Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edwin L. Weisl Jr., 1994. Inv. no.: 1994.516. See also Mirror 1999, 144–145, no. 172. The size of the trimmed page: 219 x 168 mm. It should be noted that this page was the first to be published in a photograph: Ricci 1913 table X.
- 183 Török 1992, 597–568.
- 184 University of California, Bancroft Library BANC MS UCB 130: f1300: 37, gift of Mr. and Mrs. Norman H. Stouse, 1983. Published: Bader–Starr 1986.
- 185 I am grateful to the Mellon Foundation for supporting my research in the Fototeca Berenson.
- 186 Török 2000a, 2000b, 2001, 2002. Referring to information she received from Catherine Goguel, Török wrote that it was bequeathed to the Louvre in 1927 by Jean-Pierre-Henri-Benjamin Rivière. Török 2001, 419–420.

- 187 Bauer-Eberhardt 1993-96, 137-139, ill. 1. First mention of the page: *Choix de pièces des Donations et Aquisitions du Cabinet des Dessins du Louvre*. Catalogue d'exposition, Paris: Louvre, 1955, No. 1.
- 188 "Page détaché du Legendarium Hongrois-Angevin (Bibliothèque Vaticane, Ermitage, etc.). A. De Marchi." The inscription has also been preserved in the files of the Louvre (Commentaire et observations II: Page découpée du Legendarium hongrois-angevin. A. de Marchi, 1994). This information was provided at the museum on 18 March 1997.
- 189 According to the Louvre's files; Gyöngyi Török reported this too. My own measurements show it to be 165 mm wide at the top and 166 at the bottom, 220 mm on the left and 218 on the right. Today it is mounted in a mat frame, although it had been taped in the past, as tape marks can be found on the back.
- 190 The folio from the Rosenberg collection is not included. If it were, the number of pages would increase to 143, and the number of pictures to 553.
- 191 L 19-20: Mary-St John the Baptist; L 23-24: St John the Baptist-Peter the apostle; L 67: Matthew-Philip; L 78: Luke-Stephen the Protomartyr; L 94: John and Paul-Vitus; L 98: Christopher-Cosmas and Damian; L 104: Sixtus-Donatus; L 116: Sylvester-Gregory; L 119: Ambrose-Augustine; L 140: Benedict-St Anthony the hermit. These pages (with the exception of the pairs Luke-Stephen and John and Paul-Vitus) are listed in: Levárdy 1964, 164. These pages are conspicuous in Levárdy's drawing (1988), although he mistakenly fails to similarly note the pairs Matthew-Philip and Christopher-Cosmas and Damian. (Levárdy 1988 table II).
- 192 As Levárdy had already shown (1963, 1964 etc). We will discuss the order again with regard to content in the analysis of the ensembles of saints.
- 193 Vayer-Levárdy 1972, especially 72-80.
- 194 Levárdy 1973: here the numbering of the pages suggests a different approach from the previous one; he very clearly summarizes his point of view: Levárdy 1988, table II (above we referred to a slip of the pen; we should add that the beginning of the legend of Peter the martyr is not marked with the usual vertical line.
- 195 G. Morello in: Morello-Stamm-Betz 1990, 13-23. Strangely, Morello does not know about Levárdy's latest, most successful experiment. (Levárdy 1988 table II).
- 196 Two pages were mistakenly ruled on the grain-side: Vatican codex 79r and 84v.
- 197 Morello (in: Morello-Stamm-Betz 1990, 15) lists the following marks: 24r: "b", 67r: "d", 43v: "III", 44r: "IIII."
- 198 From here on we will use the quire numbers in Levárdy 1988 table II without accepting the total he gives. (Morello did not provide his own numbering either, although he disagreed with Levárdy on several points.)
- 199 This is not marked with an *ultima*, although this is not definitive proof anyway. Cf. the next section.
- 200 Levárdy's 1988 drawing is marked in the same way, but the numbering of the facsimile reads 45 instead of 46, which could be an expression of his earlier opinion, or it may be a typo.
- 201 Although this would make this the longest legend of all the martyrs (with 16 pictures), Christopher and the pair Cosmas and Damian consist of only ten scenes each.
- 202 Once thought to have been the closing images in the legend, it actually belongs to Christopher. Corrected by: Levárdy 1964, but the incorrect version crops up again in the iconography of St George: for example Kauffmann 1970, 90, Kauffmann 1973, 183 and Dorsch 1983, 302-303.
- 203 We will discuss whether this page immediately preceded the existing page (as Levárdy and Morello thought) or was the opening picture of the legend (as we suspect) later in the analysis of the Christopher cycle.
- 204 Another solution is possible if we are determined to make space for another saint (although at present we have no reason to do so): in particular if the legend of St George concludes with two pictures on page 2 and the legend of John and Paul consists of just four, then the Morgan page could stand in the third position too. The legend of Vitus would continue on the fourth page, and on this page or on page 5 the lost legend of another martyr could begin. Given our present knowledge this is unlikely.
- 205 The latter possibility is not impossible given that the Dominican martyr Peter was allotted four pictures (L 102) and a Franciscan saint follows Francis: Louis of Toulouse.
- 206 Just as Levárdy suggested (Vayer-Levárdy 1972, 78). The numbering of the 1973 facsimile edition shows that he placed the first page of the cycle of Francis at the beginning of the new quire, as is shown in his 1988 drawing (Levárdy 1988, table II).
- 207 Levárdy only knew of this page from Ricci's catalogue of 1913 (quoted in Levárdy 1964; referred to in: Vayer-Levárdy 1972, 78; but he did not mention it in the facsimile edition). Since the page was only published in 1992 (Török 1992), it could not have appeared in the 1973 edition; thus it would appear anachronistic to use this numbering here. But because Levárdy left space for it, we can use this numbering anyway for the sake of simplicity. Unfortunately the number of the space left (148) is wrong – it should logically be numbered 150.
- 208 In his facsimile edition Levárdy numbered this 151 (thus in the fifth position) and the missing two pages were labeled 152, 153, although when discussing this legend he reconstructed it with four scenes before and after the existing page. The latter, correct solution appears in the 1988 table.
- 209 Morello thinks the opposite: Morello-Stamm-Betz 1990, 17. For more details see the analysis of the content of the legends.
- 210 It has been suggested that Brice's page, whose place is uncertain since it has no corresponding folio, may not have originally belonged here. Because he is a bishop-confessor, his legend should appear near that of Martin (who was his successor) and Nicholas. The other possibility is that this legend appeared on the last leaf of quire 19, since the first page of this leaf (Benedict, L 139) has no corresponding leaf: except that logically it would not fit there. Since this would be the only case in which the order in the Vatican codex would differ from the original, it seems wise to refrain from any attempts to reposition it.
- 211 For more see the analysis of the legend of St Martin.
- 212 Vayer-Levárdy 1972, 76; numbering of p. 16: L 67-82 (of which there are only eleven, the rest are reconstructions); the final state: Levárdy 1988 II.
- 213 M.360.17, 18, 20, 21 = L 71-73 and 75. L 74 is an empty number left by Levárdy referring to a page he supposes belonged to the legend of Bartholomew.
- 214 It should be mentioned that the numbering of the pages from the Morgan Library do not support any solutions: the folios (17-19) following folio 16 (the last page of James the Greater) belong to James the Less, folio 19 to the apostles Simon and Judas, and folios 20-21 to Bartholomew. If Levárdy is right then the pages of James the Less are in the wrong place, if Morello is right, then it's the pages of Bartholomew that are wrongly placed.
- 215 Levárdy's facsimile edition proposes that Agnes, Cecilia, Agatha, Anastasia, Elizabeth and Margaret of Antioch appeared (on L 170). The 1988 table includes two lost quires. We have no proof that these ever existed.
- 216 Levárdy 1988 and Morello reconstruct it in the same way.
- 217 In Morello's text the number XIII (p. 15) appears incorrectly – the number in the codex could be read as XIII, which would be more logical. Morello also mentions that 54v and 56v are numbered (p. 15) – which is indeed true, the numbers XII and XIII discernable.
- 218 Morello op. cit. 18.

- 219 We can expect these were as follows: the first page of the legend of Paul, the second page of the legend of Martin (which we believe has already cropped up somewhere), the last page of St Stephen the king, the second (or third) page of the legend of Dominic, the third (or first) page of St Louis of Toulouse and the first page of the legend of Eustace.
- 220 We will discuss this question later in connection with the reconstruction of the legend of St Martin.
- 221 This perhaps relates to the possibility that the codex was in its original binding when it was numbered in the 17th century and the removal of entire quires would have resulted in the codex falling apart.
- 222 Levárdy 1963 and 1964; Vayer–Levárdy 1972, Levárdy 1973 (facsimile), Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 13–23.
- 223 Levárdy assigns a number to King Stephen, but not to the female saints. Thus the last legend bears the number 59. In fact details are known from fifty-eight legends. The former, mysterious bishop-saint from the Rosenberg collection can be identified as Martin, which does not increase the number of saints.
- 224 Jesus: in addition to the beginning, a complete page is also lost and two fragments (a total of three images; John: one full page is missing and one fragment (three images are lost), James the Greater: three fragments (a total of eight images missing).
- 225 Mary, St John the Baptist, Peter, Andrew, John the Evangelist, Matthew, Philip, Luke, Stephen, Lawrence, Fabian, Sebastian, Vincent, Blaise, George, Cosmas-Damian, Clement, Peter Martyr, Sixtus, Donatus, Stanislaw, Demetrius, Gerhard, Thomas Becket, Sylvester, Gregory, Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome, Martin, Emeric, Ladislav, Benedict, Bernard, Dominic, Brice, Giles, Alexis, Paul the Hermit, Remy, Hilary, Catherine.
- 226 As we have seen in the previous section. Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 15–16.
- 227 Peter, Paul, Andrew, Matthew, Simon-Judas, Luke, Stephen, Fabian, Sebastian, Vincent, Blaise, Christopher, Cosmas-Damian, Sixtus, Stanislaw, Gerhard, Thomas Becket, Sylvester, Ambrose, Jerome, Ladislav, Bernard, Brice, Eustace, Paul the Hermit, Hilary.
- 228 Jesus, James the apostle, James the Greater, Mark, Clement, Peter Martyr, Donatus (?), Demetrius, Gregory, Augustine, Emeric, Anthony, Francis, Giles, Alexis, Remy, Magdalene.
- 229 Dezső Dercsényi for example, because of the absence of the inscription *ultima*, suggests there may have been a third page to the legend of St Emeric (Dercsényi 1941, 140).
- 230 According to the reconstructions in Levárdy 1973 and 1988, there were originally sixty-four pictures, while Morello (in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, see the previous section!) thought there were ninety-six.
- 231 In our opinion, in addition to the existing page (L 122) and the identified Rosenberg page, yet another leaf may have belonged to it. This squares with Levárdy's 1988 reconstruction drawing (but differs from the numbering in the facsimile edition).
- 232 Levárdy's facsimile mentions at least twelve scenes. The 1988 table also leaves three pages for Nicholas, which appears proportionate.
- 233 This includes eight pages of the first Jesus quire, seven folios from the unknown 17th quire and a mysterious page at the beginning of the eleventh quire before the cycle of St Mark.
- 234 We could subtract from this the reconstructed Rosenberg page: thus we would have only 60 unidentified pictures.

A Circle of Saints

Codicological analysis shows that the portion of the codex available to us is relatively large. In fact, it is larger than what earlier research had led us to believe, and the missing parts can easily be verified. Thus we have a basis for making observations about the content of the codex as an integrated whole.

The first and most complex step in our analysis is to examine the series of saints appearing in the legendary. Understanding the motivation for the selection of these saints reveals a great deal and will define all further analysis. Thus we need to uncover the identity of the saints, determine how they relate to each other, and what sequence they are placed in and how unique this compilation is. In other words, what concept of the saints does this selection express?

II.1. MISSING SECTIONS

A precondition of all further investigations is an understanding of the degree to which the fifty-eight legends that survive represent the entirety of the original collection of images and what types of gaps need to be accounted for. During the codicological analysis in the previous chapter, we discussed the fragmentation and the more serious gaps in the codex. We need to compare this to the list of saints and examine each of these gaps one by one.

Missing quires

If entire quires are missing then perhaps entire image cycles have disappeared. As we have seen, this does not characterize the codex as a whole. Naturally such losses are most likely experienced at the most vulnerable parts of the codex – the beginning and the end. We know for certain that a quire is missing from the beginning of the codex. The contents most likely dealt with the first part of the life of Jesus. Since the series of pictures showing the life of Jesus is followed by the death of Mary, the question arises whether a separate part was dedicated to the life of the Virgin. Since the most important events in Mary's life are intertwined with the life of Jesus and presumably appeared in the pages devoted to him, a separate part would only have shown the birth and childhood of Mary. Although the assumed space at the beginning is not really sufficient for a cycle of the birth of Mary, it is nevertheless possible. Whatever we decide, we know that the series of images at the beginning of the codex was devoted to Jesus and Mary and not to an unidentified saint.

The other place where we can suppose an entire gathering is missing is at the end of the codex. We know that the last page of quire 22 does not contain the final scenes of the legend of Catherine; thus, the legend must have continued on the next quire. Unfortunately, until more pages surface we cannot state anything with certainty, and even the

reconstructed 17th century numbering does not help in this case. There are two possibilities we can consider. One is that the codex was never finished, and work stopped at the end of quire 22. However, there are no other indications in the codex that the work was left unfinished, and thus this is unlikely. Naturally, the other possibility is that the codex was completed in some way. The legend of Catherine would have been allotted one more pages on the next quire, and this would have then been followed by another three or four female saints. We cannot exclude the possibility of more quires too,¹ although the probability decreases for each additional one. Who could have appeared on the lost pages? Levárdy is certain it could have been Agnes, Cecilia, Agatha, Anastasia, and especially Elizabeth and Margaret of Antioch.² His list is clearly based on the Litany of Saints, with the addition of several saints with Hungarian connections. An understanding of the general principle behind the selection of the saints might provide some basis for an answer, but even then it would be nothing more than speculation, so it is best to set this question aside.

We have a better grasp of the core material of the codex. The question still remains: were there entire quires lost from the body of the codex? Above, we already noted there is no indication of this in either the contemporary quire signatures or the 17th century page numbering. Only after the quire 16 is there any codicological evidence to suppose a missing quire:

- > We cannot say for sure that only one quire occurred between quires 16 and 18 (that is, before the Hungarian saints).
- > We do not know if quire 18 ending with King Ladislas was immediately followed by quire 19 and the life of Benedict.
- > We cannot exclude the possibility that there were more saints between quires 19 and 20, that is, between Dominic and Francis.
- > It is also possible that leaves were lost between quires 20 and 21 (between the legends of Brice and Giles).

If we assume the loss of an entire quire, then a relatively large number of saints would have filled that space. The question is thus: what saints (a minimum of two, likely more) originally appeared between King Ladislas and Benedict, Dominic and Francis, Brice and Giles, and the many that could have been in the quire between Martin and Emeric? Only a study of the content of the codex can answer these questions. And we should keep in mind it is highly unlikely entire gatherings would be missing.

Saints missing from fragmentary quires

Until now we have considered loss of material that is probable but nearly impossible to detect (as with the group of female saints). If we accept that entire quires were not lost from the codex (aside from the end) then immediately we have a better grasp of the missing elements and these certainly need to be accounted for. The codex suffered greater damage in quires 9/10 and 11. Because the missing second folio of quire 9/10 surely contained four images of the apostle Philip, an entire legend cannot be missing here. The same cannot be said for the quire 11, as the content of the first and last folios is uncertain. Who could have appeared here? Obviously the series of apostles is not complete. Levárdy already suggested a lost cycle of the apostle Thomas.³ The apostles Matthias or Barnabas, who also appear in the Litany of Saints, might have been included here. But due to the lack of space we have to reject this possibility; interestingly even the apostle Thomas would have been allotted just one page before the legend of Mark according to this reconstruction of the codex. Although the narrative of St Thomas in the *Golden Legend* is not especially long (and its relationship to the series of images is ambiguous, as we shall see below), it would require more than four pictures. Perhaps the legend of Thomas was so greatly abbreviated because his figure appears in the cycle of Jesus and Mary.⁴

The last folios of quire 11 were possibly occupied entirely by the legend of Lawrence the martyr, although the story of one more martyr (consisting of four or at the most six images) may have fit. By the same token, the similarly fragmentary quire 13 may have contained not just two legends, but maybe a third, unknown story of a martyr in the center. From this point on, the group of images we have, including the Church Fathers, is intact; the 17th century numbering does not allow for any more lost pages. Thus a maximum of two unknown martyrs may have fit here, although not necessarily.

The next large portion of missing material is found in quire 17. With one exception every page from this quire has been destroyed or lost. The quire certainly contained the continuation of the life of Martin, the entire cycle of St Nicholas, and the beginning of the series of Hungarian saints, starting with King Stephen, whose cycle is completely lost. The Hungarian versions⁵ of the Litany of Saints included St Adalbert between the sainted bishops and the “Holy Kings of Hungary”. Since another legend would have fit in this quire along with the cycles of Martin, Nicholas, and Stephen (although not necessarily), St Adalbert is certainly a possibility.⁶

The smaller portions of missing material in quires 19 and 20 may have contained lost legends. Given the number of pages (only one or two) the legends must have been very brief, assuming there was no loss of entire quires. The question is whether a one-page legend (at the end of quire 19) or perhaps several longer ones (filling an entire lost quire) appeared between Dominic and Francis. An examination of the content of the legendary suggests that neither scenario is likely.⁷ On the other hand, a one-page legend may have appeared between St Louis of Toulouse and St Brice if the Berkeley folio precedes rather than follows the cycle of St Louis.⁸ The other quires do not contain any missing sections that would point to a complete cycle being lost.

In summary there could not have been a great number of cycles lost in their entirety. We are more or less

certain that there was a cycle of St Thomas and St Stephen, and perhaps one or two martyrs and a bishop-saint – as well as an indeterminate series of female saints. Thus, in addition to the fifty-eight cycles there may have been eight or ten more legends now lost.⁹ If we compare the present fragmentary state with the more complete legendary reconstructed from the 17th century page numberings, we can see that at that time the codex contained only one more legend (although in fragmentary form) than now: St Stephen the king. Quires 19 and 20 however, were complete – and if those leaves resurface the questions that surround them may be answered.¹⁰

Attempts at reconstruction are only of interest in this study if they help to round out the circle of saints appearing in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. We know for example that one more picture in the series of St Nicholas or St Vitus would not add much to our analysis of the series, but could serve as a starting point in answering numerous questions concerning the codex as a whole or the grouping of saints. Thus, we must first examine what system is used in presenting this treasury of saints – this would allow us to argue on the basis of content whether it is necessary to consider the possibility of additional material.

II.2. SEQUENCE OF IMAGES

First of all, we need to establish whether the present sequence of pictures reflected in the Vatican codex and used as a basis for the reconstructions of Levárdy and Morello can be considered authentic.

The pages within each gathering in the Vatican codex could not have been rearranged, but the quires themselves could have. The contemporary quire signatures can be found on quires 9/10 (X), 12, 13, 14 and 16; thus this sequence is certain. The other gatherings, however, could have been switched unless they contain a legend that

continues on a neighboring quire – and there are many of these. Consequently the order of the first ten quires is beyond dispute, since the cycles on each closing page of the quire extend into the next one. However, quires 11, 15, 18, 19 and 20 are “closed” at both ends – therefore in theory the order could have been changed, and we have to rely on logic to guide us.

There is larger uncertainty surrounding those leaves that were removed from their original context. Sometimes their situation is clear, such as when they contain a legend that appears in the Vatican codex too. At present, however, the absolute order of each image does not interest us, only the order of the saints; thus there is no need to reconstruct the pictures within the individual legends. Therefore, we only need to focus on those saints that are entirely missing from the Vatican material. The Vatican codex contains scenes from the lives of fifty-two saints;¹¹ thus there are only six saints whose position is in theory unclear, although we know that Jesus had to be the first. The other five problematic saints are James the Less, the apostle Bartholomew, John and Paul, Vitus (who appears on the same page as the legend of John and Paul) and Nicholas. We can only place them where a codicological reconstruction allows, and we must deduce which saint goes where. In reconstructing quire 9/10 above, we asked whether the legends of James the Less and Bartholomew could be best inserted between Philip and the legend of Simon and Judas. The legends of John and Paul and Vitus in theory could have fit into any fragmentary quire, but if we consider that only one other leaf contains two entire legends presented in just two pictures each, then we have far fewer possibilities. In fact only quire 13 remains, where Levárdy has already inserted the leaf. Finally Bishop Nicholas could also most simply be inserted into quire 17. Therefore the sequence proposed by Levárdy is almost entirely acceptable,¹² and as such we can establish what kind of structural principles were used in determining the sequence of saints.

The guiding principle: the hierarchical order of saints

In terms of the sequence of saints the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* at first glance differs from the source it most resembles in content: *The Golden Legend*. Practical reasons governed the sequencing in the *Golden Legend*; Jacobus de Voragine wanted to make a book for his fellow pastors that would serve as an aid for the sermons held on the various feasts of the liturgical year.¹³ According to tradition still preserved today, the ecclesiastical year begins with Advent, and the order of the sermons, both *de tempore* and *de sanctis*, is determined by the 13th century Dominican calendar. While the two sermon cycles are not structurally distinct, they are in terms of content. The sequence is set according to the feast days marking the deaths of the saints (their heavenly birth), and it is not unusual that several saints are celebrated on the same day. This occurs in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* too: Simon and Judas, John and Paul, and Cosmas and Damian all share a cycle. It is less common how the *Golden Legend* remembers one saint on several feast days: Peter has three, while Paul, John the Baptist, St John the Evangelist, Stephen the martyr and Remy all have two. No such cases appear in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, however. Here the life of every saint is narrated in just one series of images, and if necessary several narratives are merged (for example, the passion of Peter and his inauguration appear in the same cycle.)

The reason no saint has more than one cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is because it differs so thoroughly in structure from the *Golden Legend*, presenting the saints in hierarchical order. This is a system that Jacobus de Voragine was naturally familiar with too and he even quotes Rabanus Maurus in the chapter on the Holy Spirit.¹⁴ Basically, we are talking about a division into four parts, based on a *quadruplex differentia*: the apostles, martyrs, confessors and virgins are all separated. This scheme is adhered to in *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* too, but preceded by the lives of Jesus and Mary.¹⁵

A hierarchical division of the saints is almost as natural as one determined by the liturgical calendar, but it has a variety of forms. In the *Passional of Kunigunda* each miniature presents a three by three system.¹⁶ On page 20r the heavenly branch and the hierarchical order are summarized in a table, while the nine groups of the Church are painted on its corresponding page, on 22v:

*Patriarchae — profetae — apostolic
martires — sacerdotes et episcopi — confessores
virgines — vidiae — conjugali*

While there is little question that sermon collections similar to the *Golden Legend* are more commonly divided according to the feast cycles, a hierarchy can also be found. From a Hungarian perspective the early 14th century sermon collection housed in Vienna is especially valuable. The second part of the collection (*Sermones de festis et de sanctis*) places the feast days of the saints in a hierarchical order: Mary (15 sermons), the apostles (17 + 3 sermons), the martyrs (13 sermons), the confessors (7 sermons) and the female and virgin saints (6 sermons). Saints with a Hungarian connection appear in large numbers in the codex: Dominic heads the series of confessors immediately followed by Stephen, Emeric, Ladislav and Martin; the series ends with Francis and Benedict while St Elizabeth of Hungary appears among the female saints.¹⁷ Thus we have an example of a Hungarian-related manuscript employing a hierarchical system from the period directly prior to the painting of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.¹⁸

The most complete versions of the hierarchical system are found in liturgical texts. In the *Canon of the Mass* there are two points at which the priest prays to the saints, the so-called saints of the canon. The “Communicantes” lists twelve apostles and twelve martyrs after Mary, among them six popes, another two clerics and four lay martyrs. In addition, the “Nobis quoque peccatoribus,” begins the

sequence with martyrs and apostles, followed by virgin saints. The final drafting of the list can probably be dated to the time of St Gregory the Great (590–604).¹⁹

The Litany of Saints indisputably offers the most important text, as Ferenc Levárdy pointed out. The litanies (*ektenia*) first came into practice in the East, and later Pope Gelasius I (492–496) brought them to Rome. The introduction of the Litany of Saints is attributed to Pope Sergius I (687–701) and was first said in Greek. By the 16th century, there were more than eighty litanies in existence though Clement VIII permitted only the Litany of Saints and the Litany of Loreto, finalizing their texts. The number of special occasions when the litanies are used signifies their importance: the administration of the greater sacraments such as the consecration of bishops, coronation of kings, benediction of abbots or abbesses, consecration of holy water, exorcism, reception of reliquaries, consecration of churches and during processions.²⁰

The Litany of Saints is composed of three major sections. The first contains a list of saints, and believers respond to the uttering of the saint’s name with the words “ora(te) pro nobis.” The selection of saints changed from country to country and from diocese to diocese; thus the Hungarian versions also contained local supplements. A comparison of the Hungarian version of the Litany of Saints with the series of saints in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* and the canonical saints (see Table 16 in Appendix A) shows how the legendary follows the litany faithfully in the more important blocks, with some smaller differences in the order of the apostles and martyrs and some additions of early martyrs and some later bishop-saints. The sequence of confessors in the first part is identical, but after St Francis follows a considerably large group of saints not found in the litany. The group of female saints is more difficult to judge, since we do not know whether the series of the saints between Mary Magdalene and Catherine in the litany was omitted or whether the sequence was altered in the legendary.

The hierarchical order of the saints consists of four larger categories, each with smaller units of their own. Thus the group of confessors is divided up into popes, bishops, kings, abbots, monks and hermits. At the same time these categories overlap, since according to tradition the apostles were martyrs, and among the martyrs there were also popes and bishops. St Peter of Verona, for example, is included with the martyrs rather than the Dominican saints – because martyrs were more highly ranked. At the same time, Eustace, as a martyr, appears in the last group of confessors.²¹ The system of this latter group will require some further explanation later.

At this point we need to ask whether the *Golden Legend* had an impact on the development of the sequence found in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. After all, the hierarchical system was not entirely absent from work of Jacobus de Voragine. Alain Boureau has shown three systems at work in differentiating the saints in the *Golden Legend*.²² Occasionally in the title of various legends (forty-one times in the Graesse edition), Voragine labels the saints as apostles (14), virgins (5), bishops (4), abbots (4), popes (5), martyrs (5) and one archangel, hermit and a lecherous woman (*meretrix*: St. Thais), while two saints are identified by bynames. However, we do not know whether Voragine employed this system with the same frequency in the original version. The use of bynames has no significance in the sequence in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*; thus the other two systems of labeling are of more interest. One makes a distinction between the apostles, martyrs, virgins and confessors; the other is based on church functions. Boureau believes the reason for this was that the first three categories over time became fixed (the number of apostles is unchanging, the number of martyrs also barely increases, and the group of virgins becomes identical with the group of nuns), while the confessors require some internal distinctions. The separation according to various ecclesiastical categories is characteristic of the legendary

too, thus within the martyrs the bishops are grouped at the end, and the confessors are also divided into similar categories. But we still have not explained why certain saints were placed next to each other within each group. One of the traditional starting points in this investigation is the Litany of Saints, but it seems the effects of another system can also be felt in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.

The secondary principle: the calendar system of saints

At times the Litany of Saints is insufficient in explaining the sequence of saints in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, such as when the repertoire of saints in the litany is expanded by a larger group, or, more rarely, when the order of the saints appearing in the liturgical text is rearranged.

Naturally the apostles are all found in the litany, but there are smaller differences in the order. First, the two James are switched: it seems the makers of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* wanted to honor St James the Greater not only by allotting more space to his legend but also by moving him up in the sequence. If Thomas did indeed appear in the legendary, then he appears much farther back than he normally would, and Matthew receives a more distinguished position.

The switching of St James the Less with Philip appears to be a more typical change. If we consider the second appearance of James to be that of the Less, then it is logical that he should be placed next to Philip, since their feasts occur on the same day (May 1). This proximity is naturally found in the *Golden Legend* too, but there Philip appears first and then James,²³ just as in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Similar influences can be found in other parts as well.²⁴

The feasts of the martyrs Fabian and Sebastian fall on the same day (January 20), and thus their legends are also neighbors (XXII and XXIII) – this is also true in the

litany. But strangely, Vincent is separated from the other two deacon martyrs (Stephen and Lawrence), and appears after Fabian and Sebastian. A possible explanation is that his feast is celebrated shortly after that of these two saints (January 22).²⁵ After this come two martyrs not found in the litany (Blaise and George) in an order determined by their feast days and legends.²⁶ A similar explanation can be given for the placement of Vitus, also absent from the litany, near John and Paul.²⁷ Such relationships can be found at the end of the group of martyrs too: it is possible that Sixtus and Donatus follow each other in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* because their feast days are neighbors in the calendar (August 6 and 7).²⁸ Thomas Becket, whose feast is celebrated around the time of Sylvester's, probably appears last among the martyrs because traditionally the pope stands first among the confessors.²⁹ Thus Thomas and Sylvester, as the last martyr and the first confessor, stand next to each other in the legendary.

The group of confessors continues in the usual order (popes, Church Fathers, bishops), with the sequence corresponding to hierarchical order and the dates of the feasts rather than to chronological order.³⁰ The series of monks also follows that in the litany (except that Benedict precedes Anthony) and after Francis, Louis of Toulouse logically follows as a supplement. More problematic is the last group of confessors. Their order is not dictated by any tradition, and the liturgical calendar offers an explanation for only the last members of the group: the feasts of St Paul the Hermit, Remy and Hilary are celebrated one after the other by the Church (January 10, 13 and 14) and thus are neighbors in the *Golden Legend* (chapters XV, XVI, XVII). Therefore only at certain points does the sequence of saints in the liturgical calendar and the *Golden Legend* add to the fundamentally hierarchical system of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, but in some cases this aspect is crucial (see Table 17 in Appendix A).

II.3. DISTRIBUTION – THE SELECTION PROCESS

Alain Boureau summarized the temporal distribution of the saints in the *Golden Legend* in a table. One third of the saints selected are early saints (1st through 4th century), and the majority of martyrs (the most distinguished group) belong to this period. On the other hand it is striking that no saints appear from the 7th through the 12th century. The group of contemporary saints begins with Bernard, and in addition Jacobus de Voragine included another 12th- and three 13th-century saints.³¹ In contrast the distribution of saints in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* appears more even. Among Christ's contemporaries, fifteen (sixteen including Mary) are portrayed in the legendary. Here the group of early saints is the largest (a total of nineteen). There are twelve historical saints (4th-12th century), while the number of contemporary saints rises to ten.

The most striking difference from the *Golden Legend* can be observed here (see Table 9). While some saints were weeded out of the first groups, all the members of the group of historical and contemporary saints were preserved; in fact the number of their members doubles. At least five 11th century saints are included in the painted legendary,³² thereby remedying the gap found in the *Golden Legend*. This is not to suggest that the makers of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* had a "better sense of history" than the Genovese archbishop, but rather the supplements were designed to make up for the lack of Central European saints. Naturally saints from this region only appear after the adoption of Christianity in the 11th century, and unsurprisingly this heroic period produced the majority of those appearing in the legendary. The next great wave of new saints in the 13th century consisted typically of female saints.³³ This group has largely been lost without a trace (the fragmentary nature of this part makes it impossible to reconstruct), or perhaps never even existed, as the makers of the legendary might have had no interest in it.

A Circle of Saints

Saints of the Gospels:					
before Christ	apostle	evangelist	penitent	martyr	
John the Baptist	Peter, Paul, Andrew, John, James the Greater, Matthew, Philip, James the Less, Bartholomew, Simon and Judas	Mark Luke	Mary Magdalene	Stephen	
					total: 15
Early saints:					
century	martyr	virgin and martyr	pope / bishop and martyr	hermit	
1st cent.			Clement		
2nd cent.	Sebastian Eustace				
3rd cent.	Vincent, George, Vitus, Lawrence, Cosmas and Damian, Christopher, <i>Demetrius</i>		Fabian Sixtus Blaise	Paul Anthony	
4th cent.	John and Paul	Catherine	Donatus Nicholas		
					total: 19
Historical saints:					
century	bishop and confessor	father of the Church (and bishop)	pope	abbot	confessor
4th cent.	Hilary Martin	Ambrose (b) Jerome Augustine (b)	Sylvester		Alexis
5th cent.	Brice				
6th cent.	Remy			Benedict	
7th cent.			Gregory	Giles	
					total: 12
Contemporary saints:					
century	martyr	bishop and martyr	father of the Church	confessor	
11th cent.		<i>Gerhard Stanislaw</i>		<i>Emeric Ladislas</i>	
12th cent.		Thomas Becket	Bernard		
13th cent.	Peter of Verona			Dominic, Francis <i>Louis of Toulouse</i>	
					total: 10

Table 9. The categories of the saints based on the classification of Alain Boureau

Very likely the presence of the male saints did dominate in the codex. Most of them were church figures. The apostles and the evangelists formed their own independent group in terms of hierarchy too, and although their numbers are not complete they are nevertheless respectable (eleven apostles and four evangelists, two of which are apostles – thus a total of thirteen). Six³⁴ popes (including Peter the apostle) and fourteen bishops (including St James the Less³⁵) represent the main church dignitaries. Alongside the bishops appear the three martyred deacons.³⁶ Four abbots represent the monks (Benedict, Anthony, Bernard and Giles), and four are from the mendicant orders (Dominic, Peter Martyr, Francis, and St Louis of Toulouse), supplemented (in part overlapped) by the hermits (Paul, Anthony and Mary Magdalene).³⁷

The lay saints comprise a much smaller group. At the fore are the martyred soldiers (Sebastian, George, Demetrius, Eustace and Christopher). The ruler saints are represented only by the group *sancti reges Hungariae* (with two, originally three members). Others involved in secular careers achieved sainthood primarily through martyrdom: John and Paul were officials, Cosmas and Damian doctors and Luke too was also known as a doctor. We should note that the clerics and among the laymen, the soldiers and rulers were easily identifiable. The clothes of the doctors, however, only revealed their higher position in society, and in the case of Luke this is not even expressed visually. Finally Alexis appears as a pilgrim and Vitus (in the one known image) is shown as a child in the pages of the legendary.

These ratios are neither incompatible with the general features of the saints nor with the proportions found in the *Golden Legend* or the *Litany of Saints*. Obviously the apostles receive due emphasis, and the pre-eminence of the clerics is not surprising either. The source of the relatively insignificant role played by the monks is the *Golden Legend* – although the additions in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* help to improve these proportions.

It appears, however, that the disproportionately large number of bishops and popes (a total of twenty-two) is one of the peculiarities of the legendary, and the inclusion of rulers is also an innovation. In contrast to the *Golden Legend*³⁸ and the *Litany of Saints*,³⁹ bishops play a more important role, making up the greatest part of the additions in the legendary. Clearly this was an important aspect in the selection of the saints.

An examination of the cult centers of various saints could help us achieve a better understanding of what principles guided the selection (see Table 18 in Appendix A).⁴⁰ If we survey the places the saints are associated with (where they worked, where they were buried, where their remains were kept, where their most important reliquaries are found), then we find unusual disproportions. Strikingly, the majority of saints in the legendary are connected to Italy. Of the fifty-six cases,⁴¹ thirty-four have some important association with Italy, the majority being buried there. And within Italy Rome is the most prominent city (in twenty cases). Once again this is a legacy in part of the *Litany of Saints*, devised in Rome, and also of the likewise Italian *Golden Legend*. Nevertheless, there may be more to it than that, and for the setting of the program a presentation of Italian saints may have been preferable.

There are a large number of saints with a connection to the East too based on their origins, the place of their martyrdom or their early place of burial, although this aspect probably did not play a role in the 14th century. The French saints appear to be more important; there are nine, four of them bishops and three abbots.⁴² In contrast, the saints of other countries are insignificant (two Spanish,⁴³ one English,⁴⁴ and a few important German shrines could be mentioned⁴⁵). The group of Central European saints, however, is significant. Of these the Hungarian saints lead: the cults of Emeric (and presumably Stephen), Gerhard, and Ladislas are associated with Székesfehérvár, Csanád, and Várad, while St Demetrius and St Martin

are commemorated at Szávaszentdemeter (today Srimska Mitrovica in Serbia) and Pannonhalma. Somogyvár, as the immediate daughter house of Saint-Gilles-du-Gard, is the center of the cult of St Giles. But important reliquaries of other saints have also been preserved in Hungary.⁴⁶ In addition, the centers of the cults of Stanislaw and Vitus were Cracow and Prague respectively.⁴⁷

We also need to consider that numerous saints tied primarily to Italy or France had considerable cults in Hungary. The intensity of this is preserved in the *patrocinium* and church names that later became place names.⁴⁸ Of particularly great number is Nicholas (440 *patrocinia*, 124 place names), Martin (366/106) and George (333/119); they are followed by Peter the apostle (244/84) and St John (the Baptist 174, the Evangelist 106; in the case of place names Mező made no distinction between the two. Sixty-two *patrocinia* had the root Ivan and nineteen John).⁴⁹ Of the fifty-six saints, forty-nine are known as patron saints of churches in Hungary and of these thirty-eight became place names. There are eight saints who were not known in Hungary as patron saints: in part local saints from Italy (Donatus, John and Paul) and from France (Hilary), and surprisingly saints such as Sylvester, Bernard, St Paul the Hermit or Christopher also belong to this group – further research will certainly shrink this number. Remarkably, there are even traces of the cult of saints such as Stanislaw and Remy where one would not expect to find it.

A survey of the popularity of local Hungarian saints appearing in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* tells us that the majority of saints were known in Hungary. In other words, the codex did not find itself in a spiritual vacuum in Hungary. At the same time we cannot say that the legendary was created as it was because of the local cults of these saints. The most respected saints were popular everywhere, while many saints were less well known or not known at all. Instead, we can say that the legendary is a representative treasury of saints generally revered

by the Church, and the saints from certain regions are particularly honored (Italy, France and Central Europe, particularly Hungary). Remarkably no saints characteristically Bolognese or Neapolitan appear in the codex. The inclusion of Stanislaw is similarly insufficient to suppose the legendary was a Polish commission.

The material in the *Golden Legend* certainly had an impact on the development of this collection, and the text served not only as a starting point for the painting of concrete legends, but also acted as a ready catalogue of saints. In Theodor Graesse's edition, the *Golden Legend* consists of 178 chapters, and of these Alain Boureau attributes 176 to Jacobus de Voragine. Discounting the *de tempore* part and those cases in which a saint is allotted more than one chapter, there were 146 legends to choose from. Of these nearly one third were included in the painted legendary.⁵⁰ A local version of the *Litany of Saints* also may have helped in the selection (and not just the sequencing) of the saints, influencing the choice of Central European saints too.⁵¹ At the same time, the expansion of the legendary probably did not occur with the individual selection of a few saints, but rather through the incorporation of material in blocks from collections of local legends. As mentioned, research points to a supplemented version of the *Golden Legend* as the source for the images in the legendary. The most complete list of these supplements, which have survived sporadically since the first half of the 14th century, appeared around 1486 in an independent publication *Legende sanctorum regni Hungarie in Lombardica historia non contenta*.⁵² This includes Adalbert, Sigismund, Stanislaw, Ladislav, Zoerard and Benedict, King Stephen, Gerhard, Wenceslas, Demetrius, Emeric, and Elizabeth, among others. Of these eleven legends five appear in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, and originally there were certainly more.⁵³ Although this (and we must emphasize) *later* collection is only one possible example of what we imagine the sources for the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* were like, it shows that

prototypes for the supplements were available in medieval Hungary.⁵⁴ Only St Louis of Toulouse is missing from the late 15th century collection, but he never appeared in earlier supplements either.⁵⁵ Thus his inclusion in the legendary can probably be attributed to personal reasons.⁵⁶

Though the makers of the legendary had complete lists from which to choose, this certainly does not mean that the selection of certain saints lacked any particular significance. For example, an important characteristic of one well-defined group of saints is the performance of miracles by the dead body or other reliquaries at the end of the cycle. Miracles take place at the tombs of Mary Magdalene, St James the Greater, Emeric, Ladislav and Stanislaw, while the relics of Demetrius also worked many miracles. Miracles similar to those of James and Ladislav happened also at the time of Gerhard's translation. In addition, Bishop Brice performs a miracle at the tomb of Martin, and Augustine diverts pilgrims on their way to Rome to his tomb at Pavia where they are healed. Of these saints, Emeric, Ladislav, Gerhard and Demetrius regularly return in Hungarian supplements and their cults have significant local centers (Székesfehérvár, Várad, Csanád and Szávaszentdemeter). As for Stanislaw, he worked a miracle on a Hungarian, and we know that Cracow was an important pilgrimage place for Hungarians.⁵⁷ Because of his origins in Pannonia, Martin is also considered to be a local saint. Furthermore, the House of Anjou had a special interest in the personage of Mary Magdalene. In 1279 Charles, the prince of Salerno (later Charles II of Naples and grandfather of Charles I of Hungary – his wife was Mary of the House of Árpád), had a vision telling him where to find her remains, leading to their discovery in Saint-Maximin in Provence.⁵⁸ The cult of the saint was later supported by Charles II: in 1283 he had the S. Domenico Maggiore in Naples rededicated to Mary Magdalene, and later in 1308 had Pietro Cavallini paint a fresco there of the repentant woman.⁵⁹

Emphasis was given to miracles relating to the saints' remains when the center of the saint's cult may have been important to the Hungarian Angevins.⁶⁰ This observation, however, takes into consideration more than just the selection of saints. Obviously, in the choice of saints and the development of their legends, such questions of content may have played a role that can be mapped out only through the analysis of individual cycles. Thus, the question of which saints were highlighted – in other words, what kind of ranking was employed in this legendary – should be examined on the highest level of our analysis.

II.4. HIERARCHY OF SAINTS

At present fifty-eight legends can be found in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, but as we have seen there may have originally been more. These obviously were not all given the same weight. One way to highlight a saint was to move a cycle forward. We have seen that in deciding the sequence of saints, the makers of the legendary followed the usual system of hierarchy in the Church, and then refined it according to other criteria. The usual categories (and within them the most usual members were) treated first, while supplementary material was added to the ends of the groups.

Thus the ranking of the saints was not determined so much by their order, but rather by the volume of the cycle devoted to them. A quick glance clearly shows that some saints and groups of saints are presented with longer or shorter legends. At the beginning of the codex the size of the cycles varies greatly. Twenty images are typical for one group of apostles. However, the majority of the less important apostles and the martyrs were allotted eight images each, the Church Fathers six followed by some variations, and then the saints at the end of the codex, as well as the last group of confessors, generally contain about eight images again.

Groups	Number of legends formerly — today	Number of images formerly — today
Saints of the Gospels (Jesus, Mary, St John the Baptist):	3 — 3	118 — 71
Apostles and Evangelists	13 — 12	216 — 184
Martyrs	19? — 19	146 — 121
Confessors	23+? — 22	204 — 161
I. Popes, Church fathers, bishops	7+? — 7	56? — 33
II. Kings	3 — 2	40? — 32
III. Monks	6 — 6	60 — 52
IV. Other confessors	7 — 7	48 — 44
Virgins and other female saints	? — 2	20+? — 12

Table 10. The groups of represented saints with the present and original quantities

With respect to the number of saints and images, those making the legendary strove for as much balance as possible within the individual groups. To facilitate our examinations we have divided the legends into five groups according to the traditional categories.⁶¹ Table 10 shows the former and present-day state of the legendary.

Of the four large categories (saints from the Gospels, apostles, martyrs and confessors – the female saints cannot be analyzed) the apostles and confessors lead in terms of total number of images while the martyrs received somewhat less emphasis. The confessors form the group with the largest number of saints, with the martyrs just behind, both naturally eclipsing the first two “closed” categories. Looking at the number of images as well as the number of legends devoted to certain groups of confessors, we find a peculiar balance. Even where the number of saints is small (as in the group of Hungarian kings), the number of pictures rivals that of other groups within the confessor category.

This balance, however, is not typical of the entire co-dex. If we examine the number of pictures dedicated to

each saint, two legends stand out starkly from the others (see Table 19 in Appendix A). Fittingly Jesus stands at the top of the rank, with ninety-six pictures originally. The apostles follow, but among them James the Greater is especially prominent with seventy-two pictures. While Christ’s exceptional status is understandable, James’s on the other hand requires some further explanation. He was not only the favorite sainted knight of the Anjou period,⁶² but he was associated with Europe’s most popular pilgrimage site after Rome: Santiago de Compostela. However, this reasoning still seems insufficient. Perhaps the personal preferences of the patron of the legendary were a consideration. We shall return to this question in the last part of this study.

The apostles form a better-defined group. The legends of Peter, Paul, Andrew, and John all originally consisted of twenty to twenty-four images. We can also include here the legend of King Ladislav with twenty-four scenes – thus a Hungarian saint is also given prominence among his counterparts. The intensive cult of Ladislav can clearly be traced in 14th century Hungary.⁶³ Also among the prominent saints is Mary Magdalene, who as mentioned

was popular among the Angevins and whose cult thrived throughout Europe in the 14th-15th centuries.⁶⁴ Another popular group of saints were the mendicants represented by Dominic, Francis and St Louis of Toulouse (with twelve, sixteen and twelve images respectively). Among those cycles with more than the average number of images is the legend of St John the Baptist (twelve images), while the assumption of Mary into Heaven has ten images devoted to it.

Aside from those above only two other popular saints have legends consisting of twelve scenes: George and Martin. The typical number of images allotted to the apostles in the second group is ten or more often eight. Cycle length varying from four to ten pictures similarly stratifies the group of martyrs. Christopher as well as Cosmas and Damian are among the most popular saints, but the long cycle (10 images) of Donatus is more difficult to understand. The other martyred bishops whose legends appear near that of Donatus received typically eight pictures each (Gerhard, Stanislaw, Thomas Becket, earlier Blaise⁶⁵). Several less revered saints (John and Paul, Vitus) have six images. Strikingly, the popes have the least elaborated cycles (Sixtus, Fabian, Clement); only Peter the Apostle joins this group with just four images. The legends of Emeric and the saints belonging to the monastic orders had on average eight (occasionally six) pictures, and six is also the normal length for the Church Fathers. The martyrs Luke and Stephen stand out for the brevity of their legends – only two images each. It should be noted however, that their lives did not abound in activity, and their legends do not lend themselves to visual expression.

The length of the legend also needs to be taken into consideration when examining the number of images in a cycle (see Table 20 in Appendix A). After all a longer legend obviously requires more pictures; but when the text is scanty the cycle could hardly be more voluminous. Thus if we are interested in where the *Hungarian Angevin*

Legendary expresses preferences, we need to examine the proportion of text to images.

Of the saints given prominence in the *Golden Legend*, we need to examine those who have more than one feast day (Peter, Paul and John the Evangelist, John the Baptist, Stephen the Protomartyr, Remy). The Dominican Jacobus de Voragine also dedicated more than ten pages to two saints of this order, Dominic and Peter, and also to Francis and Bernard, two Church Fathers (Augustine and Gregory), Lawrence, Clement and Mary Magdalene. The question is whether this system of values is reflected in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.

Forty-seven legends can be included in this examination.⁶⁶ Based on the edition of Theodor Graesse, the average number of pictures in the legendary per page of text in the *Golden Legend* is 2.17. However, this changes from saint to saint and category to category, although this ratio should be kept in mind in each individual case. As expected, James the Greater has the greatest number of pictures per page of text (8.7). Fabian also has a similarly high ratio (8) given that the especially short, half page of text is illustrated in the legendary with four pictures. However, this ratio should not be viewed as any particular sign of preference for Pope Fabian because of its unusual nature. Where the pages of text exceed one or two pages, however, a high ratio becomes quite significant. Thus the number of images to pages of text is above average for John the Apostle since his legend is only average in length, but the picture cycle has been lengthened to fit with the other more important apostles. In contrast the legends of Bartholomew, St James the Less, and Mark, which have average to long texts, have abbreviated cycles in the legendary to fit uniformly with the length of the other lesser apostles' legends. In addition to these attempts at proportioning, another tendency is also immediately apparent: among the saints in the top sixteen places in terms of ratio of image to text are six bishops and two popes – that is, half of the legends with added prominence belong to high Church dignitaries.⁶⁷

Of all the various categories, the chapters in the *Golden Legend* dedicated to the apostles have the greatest variety of lengths. The apostle Philip, for example, has only a half page of text, which perhaps explains why his cycle presumably had no more than six pictures. Although three of the apostles appear in the *Golden Legend* on more than one feast day, the inclusion of Andrew, for example, among the “greater” saints is a specialty of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Understandably, in this group St James the Greater plays the greatest role, while the most modest cycle (both in comparison to the text and just in general) is Luke’s. This makes sense if we also consider how Luke’s legend is constructed: essentially a scholastic analysis of the virtues of the evangelist, and as such difficult to express visually. On average the apostles have 2.3 pictures to every page of text, which is higher than the average of the entire codex, but if we remove St James the Greater from the group, then this ratio drops to 1.7. Thus we can say that although the apostles occupy a distinguished place in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, they are not over-represented – this would not have been customary in the 14th century anyway.

Of the martyrs, Fabian occupies the most illustrious position among the martyrs, although we have explained this phenomenon as an anomaly of the text. Of greater significance is the minimum value: Peter Martyr is one of the prominent saints in the *Golden Legend*, but he loses this role in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, where only four images (essentially the minimum) are dedicated to him. The novelistic life story of Pope Clement is also elaborated on at length in the *Golden Legend*, but the kind of adventurous motifs that fill his legend are saved for the last group of confessors in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Furthermore, it seems these motifs were also not compatible with those martyr saints who were placed in this part of the codex – thus those sections were left out. The average ratio here too is higher than for the codex as a whole (2.75) even if we take out the misleading ratio for Fabian (2.4).

Present in the greatest numbers in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* are the confessors, and even though their legends contain a significant number of images, they still appear less important when this number is compared with the text of the *Golden Legend* (on average only 1.6 pictures to one page of text, lower than average.) The ratio for the Church Fathers is strikingly low (on average 0.54); indeed the average of six pictures per legend is not high, while the texts are generally lengthy. This can be viewed as a sign that the designers of the legendary devoted less attention to saints who were primarily noted for their theological work. Perhaps their biographies were also less suited for pictorial depiction, another point worth considering. A similarly low average score (1) characterizes saints belonging to the monastic orders, with Francis standing out with a ratio of 1.4.⁶⁸ The proportion of images to text in the legend of St Louis of Toulouse would be interesting – but unfortunately we cannot evaluate it from this perspective. The last group of confessors, however, can be analyzed, and their average ratio is noticeably high (2.8), a result of the neglect shown them in the *Golden Legend*, while the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* devotes an average number of pictures to them.

This shows that the designer of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* did not slavishly adhere to the proportions in the *Golden Legend*. In some cases he rejected its special emphases (Dominican saints), and at other times he strove to adjust legends of varying lengths to fit with other members of the same category. Aside from a few instances where the makers of the legendary clearly added extra emphasis (James, Ladislav, the Franciscans), in general they tended to avoid extremes, presenting the selected saints at more or less the same level. That is the area where perhaps the makers’ own preference can be felt: neglected saints are raised to the level of more generally respected ones. Consequently the relative lengthening of the legends offered an opportunity to add some unique content.

These results, however, are still not entirely valid. In order to properly evaluate the relative volume of the cycles compared to the texts in the *Golden Legend*, the iconographic tradition also needs to be considered, but we can only discuss this after a detailed analysis of the legends. We also need to compare the overall picture that has taken shape with other collections of the saints, a task that we shall undertake in the next section.

II.5. A LOOK AROUND: OTHER COLLECTIONS

The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* contains perhaps medieval Hungary's richest visual material. This is precisely why it is so difficult to find comparable material that can rival it in terms of the number of saints and the elaboration of the cycles. Below we shall examine three characteristic examples that can provide a basis for comparison given their size and the complexity of their cycles. Each contains a large quantity of visual material based on the legends, and these images take prominence over any text (as in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*). Our examples are the stained glass windows of Chartres, the Pamplona Bible, and the *Liber depictus* of Český Krumlov. There is no direct connection between any of these cases and the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*; nevertheless these works are perhaps suitable in better raising our awareness of the unique qualities of the legendary.

The stained glass windows of Chartres decorate an Episcopal cathedral, and their patron was from among the town guilds and the aristocracy, or the upper circles of the court. The bishops and canons of the cathedral must have participated in devising the visual scheme. Traditionally the windows are dated to the first decades of the 13th century;⁶⁹ lately, however, there have been suggestions that the windows were made in an even shorter period of time.⁷⁰

The windows of the cathedral represent several different types, but for our purposes the narrative cycles are the most important (see Table 21a in Appendix A). These look onto the side aisles, the ambulatory and its chapels. The entire series has not survived, but the missing windows can be identified based on descriptions. Consequently the following saints can be grouped as follows:

Noah from the Old Testament and Jesus, Mary and Joseph from the New Testament (Mary is clearly emphasized since the cathedral is dedicated to her.)

Of Jesus's prominent disciples we can see Paul, Andrew, John, St James the Greater, and Thomas, and of lesser importance we see Simon and Judas; the apostles all share a common window too.

Of the more important martyrs and confessors in the Church, the three martyred deacons, Stephen, Lawrence, and Vincent, as well as Blaise, Eustace, Apollonaris, and Pantaleon appear; Nicholas is also depicted as the favorite of the sainted bishops, as well as two hermits, Anthony and Paul, and the more celebrated female saints (Mary Magdalene, Margaret, and Catherine).

French saints appear in larger numbers, first of all Charlemagne and several bishops and martyrs (Martin, Remy, Savinius, Caraunus, Lubin, and Thomas Becket, who was also associated with Sens).

Despite the richness, some serious gaps are rather conspicuous (Peter the Apostle and St John the Baptist do not appear). Naturally selections were made freely among the martyrs and confessors; but the lack of entire groups that are amply represented in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* provides more insight. Lesser apostles and evangelists are passed over almost without exception, and members of the monastic orders are not represented, not even the Benedictines or the Cistercians – perhaps this is understandable in a cathedral. But not one pope is shown among the figures depicted; the four Church Fathers are also absent. The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* thus appears much more uniform in terms of types of

saints selected, striving for greater completeness within the individual, more clearly defined groups (such as the apostles), and more proportioned in its selections within each category.

The so-called Pamplona Bible is an unusual codex type, of which three copies are known.⁷¹ Two of these were made at the same time at the end of the 12th century for Sancho the Strong (1194–1234) the king of Navarre, probably compiled by the king's chancellor, the provost Petrus Fernandus.⁷² A characteristic feature of the codex is that only single lines of text accompany the full- and half- page images. Two-thirds of the codex is devoted to the Old Testament, and only one-ninth to the New Testament, while a fifth of the codex is assigned to the saints. A total of 173 saints are featured, notably in a hierarchical arrangement (see Table 21b in Appendix A).⁷³ The apostles and evangelists are represented in almost their entirety, and even Barnabas is included among them. They are followed by the three deacon martyrs (Stephen, Lawrence and Vincent), and then some earlier martyrs. Fabian and Sebastian, John and Paul, and Vitus all appear in the same proximity. The confessors include the popular bishops, beginning with Nicholas and Martin, then Brice (the successor of Martin of Tours), Sylvester, Benedict, Germanus, Gregory, Hilary, Augustine, and some others. The series of saints ends with Mary Magdalene, Mary of Egypt, Catherine and some other female saints.

Although the selection in the Bible of Pamplona is wider than in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, the two works share basic features, particularly apparent in the organization, and to a certain extent, in the choice of saints within each of the categories. Also characteristic is the complete presentation of the apostles and the early martyrs, as well as the more important bishops and popes. At the same time, some of the uncertainties, the unclear use of categories in the codex, come through especially in the group of confessors: the bishops, church teachers and founders of the monastic orders are not

clearly separated. More uncertainty can be felt at the beginning of the section of saints: St John the Evangelist comes before the Baptist and the martyrdom of Matthew appears twice. The large number of Spanish-related saints (26) is understandable, and in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, these are of course substituted with saints with a Central European connection. Thus, while the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* represents a more developed system, there are lots of similarities between the approaches of the two codices.

Finally, our third example is the closest to the Hungarian manuscript in time and place. It is the so-called *Liber depictus* from Krumau (Český Krumlov) in Bohemia.⁷⁴ It was probably made for the local Franciscan friary founded in 1358, and in the 18th century the volume was moved to the library in Vienna. Its patrons were probably from among the Rosenberg family, the founders of the monastery who were closely related to the Bohemian Court. Like the Pamplona Bibles, a unique feature of this codex too is its scant text – only two or three lines per page to accompany the images, which predominate. In the first part of the 172-page manuscript, a *Biblia pauperum* can be found. The second part consists of thirty-four image cycles, eighteen of them connected to saints, and the rest parables and stories related to the Virgin and hermits. The saints consist in part of the most venerated martyrs and confessors of the Church (John the Baptist, Christopher, Sixtus and Lawrence, Clement, Eustace, Giles) together with some female saints (Mary Magdalene, Mary of Egypt), and some saints of Bohemian origin (Wenceslas, Ludmila, Procopius, Vitus). The presence of Elizabeth of Hungary can be explained by the Franciscan provenance of the manuscript (see Table 21c in Appendix A).⁷⁵

The preferences of the codex are Bohemian on the one hand, and monastic on the other. However, the selection and the structure of the manuscript seem to be somewhat random. The sequence of the stories does not correspond to any obvious principle. It seems the codex

was not intended to present the entire repertoire of saints. Thus the apostles, popes, Church Fathers and bishops, as well as the important members of the monastic saints (including the founder of the order to which the patrons of the codex belonged) are all omitted.

A survey of these three examples highlights the distinctiveness of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* in its selection of saints. Clearly, in a broader comparison, the legendary would also stand out for its systematic and carefully devised arrangement. The makers strove to include every important type of saint and placed them in a strict hierarchy. Within the various types, a broader, at times almost complete panorama is given. A presentation of local saints (French, Spanish and Bohemian) characterizes all three examples, and thus the ensemble of Central

European saints (mostly Hungarian) in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* clearly demonstrates the codex's ties to place. If the order and distribution of saints appearing in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* appear more proportional and balanced than in its source, the *Golden Legend*, then this is even more apparent now. The makers of the codex wanted to present the gallery of saints as completely as possible, and generally tried to avoid any disproportion. This does not mean, however, that certain saints were not given prominence, or that the selection of saints was not related to the overall program of the codex. Preferences and individual expression were contained within a sophisticated system. In the next chapter we need to discover how the layers of meaning of the program were expressed within the various cycles.

NOTES

- 1 A quire 24 is also supposed by Levárdy 1988, Table II.
- 2 Levárdy 1973, description of page 170.
- 3 Levárdy 1988, Table II situated it in the middle of quire 9. As we have seen, it is improbable because of codicological reasons.
- 4 The incredibility of Thomas, L 15c. The miracle of the belt of the Holy Virgin, L 19a.
- 5 Cf. the description of the Litany of All Saints below; Radó 1961, 67–68.
- 6 See also Madas 1992, 97.
- 7 The only Dominican saint in the *Golden Legend* (St Peter of Verona) appears among the martyrs.
- 8 Former research positioned the Berkeley page after the Vatican folio (Bader–Starr 1986; Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990; Török 1992), however, this is far from being certain; see the analysis of the legend.
- 9 It is improbable that the exact number has a significance. Boureau 1984 interpreted the 153 chapters of the *sanctorale* part of the *Legenda aurea* with the help of the mystical numbers. In the case of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* there is no chance neither need for such an interpretation.
- 10 As it has been pointed out, all the recently found single pages left the manuscript since the 17th century, therefore those being preserved at that time have bigger chance to reappear. I would also risk that a folio from the legend of St Stephen the King may resurface. In such a way the number of the completely lost legends can be reduced by one. The resurface of the legend of Thomas is less probable since it was lost before the 17th century.
- 11 In previous literature the number 51 is usually quoted because following Poncelet the fragment of the legend of Christopher is usually forgotten.
- 12 Only the cycles of James the Less and Bartholomew should be moved before that of Simon and Judas.
- 13 Boureau 1984, 24; 25–27.
- 14 In the chapter *De omnibus sanctis*: Graesse 722, Maggioni 1105, Ryan 1993, vol. I 305.
- 15 Practically it has no significance whether the Death of the Holy Virgin is situated after the cycle of Jesus because of historical or hierarchical reasons.
- 16 Prague, Universitní knihovna XIVa17. Urbánková–Stejskal 1975.
- 17 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. lat. 1369. The preachings were formerly attributed to Aldobrandinus de Cavalcantibus, however, the only certain point is that they were written by an Italian Dominican friar in the middle of the 13th century. Kódexek 1986 93–94, no. 33; Vizkelety 1989. This collection is one of the five known collections from Hungary from late 13th–early 14th century, see Madas 1996b and Madas 2002.
- 18 Levárdy mentioned as a sermon collection in hierarchical order the Martyrologium of Ado, archbishop of Vienna, published in 1554 on the basis of a Bolognese manuscript. Levárdy 1964, 164.
- 19 Petrő 1931, 136–145 and 170–182, cf. Martimort 1961, 396. The saints are listed in Appendix A, Table 16.
- 20 Cf. Radó 1961 I., 67–68.
- 21 Note that in the Hungarian version of the Litany of All Saints the martyr St Adalbert is situated between the confessor bishops and St Stephen, King of Hungary, introducing the group of Hungarian saints.
- 22 Boureau 1984, 33–34.
- 23 Philip in chapter LXV and James the Less in chapter LXVII. Between them the chapter on Apollonia is irrelevant from our perspective.
- 24 For the feasts of the saints see Appendix A, Table 16. The neighborhood of Peter and Paul (in chapters LXXXIX and XC) is evidently another case since their connection is manifold.
- 25 Chapter XXV. Chapter XXIV is dedicated to St Agnes, which has no significance from our point of view.
- 26 Blaise: 3rd of February, chapter XXXVIII, George: 23rd or 24th of April, chapter LVIII. However, these are quite far from each other.
- 27 Vitus: 15th of June, John and Paul: 26th of June.
- 28 Consequently the same is true for their legends in the *Legenda aurea*: chapters CXIV and CXV.
- 29 Thomas Becket: 29th of December, chapter XI; Sylvester: 31st of December, chapter XII.
- 30 Sylvestre: 31st of December, Gregory: 12th of March, Ambrose: 4th of April, Augustin: 28th of August, Jerome: 30th of September, Martin: 11th of November.
- 31 Boureau 1984, 35–41. For the system applied to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, see Table 9.
- 32 Gerhard of Csanád, Stanislaw, Emeric and Ladislas. With Stephen the King, certainly included, this figure rises to five. Louis of Toulouse was added to the group of 13th-century saints.
- 33 Cf. Klaniczay 2002, 195–294.
- 34 A seventh would be St Jerome whose unsuccessful papal election was represented in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* as a real papal consecration (L 121b).
- 35 Naturally other apostles acted also as bishops, however, it is indicated only in the image cycle of James as the first bishop of Jerusalem.
- 36 This group can be extended by Donatus, represented 3 times as deacon in his cycle of 10 images.
- 37 The world of the hermits is also present in the images of saints living in hermitage, e.g. Blaise (L 88b), Clement (L 101b), Gerhard (L 111b), Giles (L 155d).
- 38 As additions to the *Golden Legend*, three bishops, two rulers and one soldier are included in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.
- 39 In contrast to the Litany of All Saints, new figures are eleven bishops and popes, four soldiers, two monks, and Alec and Vitus.
- 40 This investigation is based on the hagiographical manuals (Farmer 1978, Biblioteca Sanctorum, LCI), for Hungary (especially for the patron saints) Mező 1996. See Appendix A, Table 18.
- 41 Among the 58 cycles those of Jesus and the Virgin Mary are not counted. Pairs of saints (Simon and Judas, John and Paul, Cosmas and Damian) are counted together.
- 42 Martin, Brice, Remy, Hilary as bishops; Bernard, Giles and Benedict, translated to Fleury, as abbots. Further related saints are Mary Magdalene, venerated in Vézelay and Saint-Maximin, and Christopher, whose important relics were kept in Saint-Denis.
- 43 James the Greater in Compostela and Vincent in Valencia.
- 44 Thomas Becket, who has also a French connection, being highly venerated in Sens.
- 45 However, the complete lack of German saints is striking.
- 46 A finger of Dominic was kept in Székesfehérvár; the head relic of George in Veszprém and further relics at Csanád; a finger of Vitus in Veszprém, see Mező 1996, 69, 84, 205.
- 47 Although the head relics of Vitus were transported to Prague as late as 1355, his cult flourished there since the 10th century.
- 48 Cf. Mező 1996 and 2003.
- 49 Further popular place names derive from the Holy Cross (108), Michael (86), Virgin Mary (68), All Saints (57), St Stephen the King (48). These

- ten saints provide the 62 % of the church names that later became place names. Mező 1996, 225.
- 50 Without Jesus, the Virgin Mary and the saints missing from the Golden Legend, 50 cycles should be counted. Further, lost cycles could be added to this number.
- 51 A similar restructuring of the Golden Legend was carried out in each territories and religious orders (Fleith 1991, Dunn-Lardeau 1986). For Central Europe the Bohemian case is noteworthy. At the end of the 13th century a few local, shortened variations were produced; after the early 14th century the expanded and vernacular versions became more widespread (Vidmanová 1986). The most famous of these is a *Passionale* written in 1357 for Charles IV by a Dominican friar, including the legends of five Bohemian saints (Adalbert, Procopius, Wenceslas, Ludmilla and the Five Brothers) and four saints especially venerated in Bohemia (Hedwig, Barbara, Dorothy and Arnold), see Vidmanová 1990.
- 52 Tarnai 1984, 80–87, Madas 1992, 97–98.
- 53 Especially Stephen, Elisabeth and possibly Adalbert. Cf. Madas 1992, 97.
- 54 Comparable Hungarian additions can be found in the sermon collections of the period, e.g. the so-called University Sermons of Pécs or a codex of Heiligenkreuz (Zisterzienser Abtei Cod. 292.). Cf. Madas 2002, 132–196.
- 55 Cf. Madas 1992b. According to Levárdy, his legend written by Henricus Sedulius is included in the Hungarian appendix but he quotes an edition of Nagyszombat from 1747. Levárdy 1973, 23. and note 28. The cult of Louis is known from medieval Hungary, a Franciscan friary (Lippa 1325) and two chapels (Székesfehérvár 1395, Nagyvárád 1332) were dedicated to him. Mező 1996, 252.
- 56 Evidently Louis of Toulouse is the preferred saint of the Anjou dynasty. One of its best examples is the Angevin prayer book of Vienna, which, beside Louis IX and St Elisabeth, contains the legend and representation of Louis of Toulouse added by the request of king Robert of Naples. Riegl 1887.
- 57 Levárdy 1973, 24, with a reference to Jan Długosz.
- 58 Before that time she was venerated in Vézeley, Jansen 1995, 1–2.
- 59 Although the new title did not replace the old one, Jansen 1995, 24–25 and note 92.
- 60 Augustin and James the Greater cannot be interpreted in the same way. For Augustin, the rising significance of the Augustinian friars can be an explanation, which influenced also art history, cf. Török 1973. For James an occasional pilgrimage to Compostela can be easily suspected, see below!
- 61 Only the first group needs some explanation. We have grouped together the Christological cycle belonging to the *de tempore* and the legends of the Holy Virgin and John the Baptist because the written and pictorial traditions connected to them are closer to the Gospels and are separated from the more uniform group of the apostles and other saints.
- 62 MoMT II 1987, 209 (T. Wehli).
- 63 See the analysis of the legend of St Ladislav in Part III. Cf. Kurcz 1988 210–213.
- 64 Jansen 1995 and 2000. See also the analysis of her legend in Part III, especially note 510.
- 65 Non-bishop saints with eight images are Sebastian, Vincent and Demetrius.
- 66 Six among the 58 legends are not from the *Golden Legend*. The cycles of Jesus, Mary and John the Baptist form another category which functions differently. Two other legends (Nicholas and Catherine) are extremely fragmented. For the figures, see Appendix A, Tables 19 and 20.
- 67 This tendency is even more evident taking into consideration only the first ten, among which four bishops (Donatus, Remy, Hilary and Blaise) and two popes (Fabian and Sixtus) can be found. These saints are generally less venerated thus it can be explained by the intention of the program for better proportion, too.
- 68 Although for Francis not exclusively the *Golden Legend* was used, see the analysis of his legend in Part III.
- 69 Grodecki dated the ensemble to the first third of the 13th century. Grodecki–Brisac 1984, 244–246.
- 70 John James and Manhes-Deremble dated to the first years of the 13th century. Manhes-Deremble 1993, 10–17.
- 71 Bucher 1970.
- 72 Amiens, Bibliothèque Municipale, Ms.lat.108; Schloss Harburg, Fürstlich Oettinger-Wallernsteinsche Bibliothek, Ms.1, 2, lat. 4^o,15; the third example is a copy of one of the previous ones: New York, Public Library, Spencer Collection Ms.22.
- 73 The codex does not follow the sequence of its sources (Ado's Martyrologium and other collections). However, the editor did not realize that the sequence of the codex is hierarchical and supposed that the primary principle is the division of male and female saints, while the secondary is chronological. (Bucher 1970, 24) On the contrary, it is evident that the real principle is the hierarchical one, applied in the Litany of All Saints, starting with an archangel, followed by the apostles, evangelists, martyrs, confessor bishops and abbots, finally the holy women and virgins.
- 74 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 370 Schmidt 1956; Parler 1978 Bd. 2, 734 (Otto Mazal)
- 75 Harder 1983, 20; cf. the catalogue entry of R. Kroos with an earlier dating to 1330s: Sankt Elisabeth 1981, 392–394, no. 57.

Analysis of the Legends

As we have seen, scholars had recognized the importance of the *Golden Legend* as a starting point early in their search for the sources of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.¹ For art historians it has also been clear that the picture cycles in the legendary were not created at random, but were based on an iconographic tradition. This tradition itself was influenced to a large degree by the *Golden Legend*. As such, it is difficult to decide whether a motif appearing in the codex can be traced directly or indirectly to the *Golden Legend*. Furthermore Jacobus de Voragine, the author of the *Golden Legend*, was in turn very likely influenced in some way by an even earlier visual tradition, although naturally he would have also used a myriad of textual sources from a variety of periods and places.² Thus, these “ancient” textual sources³ may have influenced the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* either through transmission by the *Golden Legend* or through an earlier iconographic tradition. Consequently, during our investigations we must be cautious in our treatment of these various sources.

Our analysis of the legends will thus rely above all on the text of the *Golden Legend*, though other sources will be considered as well. In addition we will attempt to place various depictions and image series within the iconographic tradition, although this will occasionally lead us beyond the strict chronological boundaries. Because of the significant loss of medieval iconographic material,

we have no choice at times but to consider works far removed both in time (i.e. later) and space from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. We can justify this approach by noting that depictions both stylistically and historically foreign may be iconographically related through links that are lost today; we shall try to construct meaningful arguments with these few remaining visible remnants of a once common language.

Obviously, only works close in time and place should be considered relevant in a well-founded historical examination, but because of uncertainties surrounding the place of execution for the codex, it is necessary to look to other regions: the Italian peninsula (particularly northern Italy) deserves our attention because of its stylistic connections. Of course, if we consider the possible identity of the commissioner and presumed designers of the visual program, then we cannot ignore the visual traditions of Central Europe either. Studies in either area, Central Europe or Italy, have by no means been exhaustive. For research into Italian connections, however, George Kalfal’s richly illustrated iconographic database (of which four volumes were published between 1952 and 1985) serves as a good foundation.⁴ Although today the early works in this series concerning Tuscan art are considered in part to be obsolete, the wealth of information provided makes this work nevertheless indispensable. Fortunately they have been supplemented by recently published

video discs of illuminated manuscripts from the Vatican Library.⁵ This collection is extraordinarily rich in Italian codices, but also provides a good survey of manuscript illustration from other regions, especially France.

Material from Central Europe has not been investigated on the same level, although a few nations have produced some useful art historical summaries, corpora of painted material, and indices to their iconographic content.⁶ The *Marburger Index*, a microfiche image database from Germany that has been continually expanded since 1977, has proved to be an important tool. The basis for this database is the Marburg photo collection established by Richard Hamann in 1913. Today numerous German museums, monument preservation bureaus, and visual archives have joined the undertaking, making more than 1,550,000 photos available to researchers.⁷ The material, arranged topographically, was made accessible from an iconographic standpoint with the 1995 publication of an index on CD-ROM. However, even the tenth edition (published in 2005) contains only 250,000 images, and the majority of these are not medieval works.⁸ Nevertheless, a significant amount of material is available that fortunately complements the data provided in the general iconographic lexicons.⁹

Alongside basic research, monographs on the iconography of particular saints also offer considerable assistance, but the information is patchy. For certain prominent saints, such as St George, a wide selection of thorough studies are available,¹⁰ but for other saints, all we have is the steadfast work of one or two scholars, for example, Tancred Borenius's study on Thomas Becket, the Courcelles' on Augustine, and Laura Dal Prà's and Arno Pfaffrath's on Bernard.¹¹ Typically only one usable monograph exists for each given saint,¹² with some additional information from catalogues produced at the turn of the twentieth century.¹³ Since many of the saints in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* were never widely depicted in cycles, most of the time no comprehensive studies

exist and research must rely on lexicon summaries.¹⁴ In fact, oftentimes the most elaborate cycle of the saint is that contained in the codex.

Iconographic analysis, however, should not become overly preoccupied with individual images, but should attempt to uncover the entire internal structure of connections within the codex. Analysis should focus on the relationship of the cycles to each other, the typical legend types represented, and the recurring scenes and their meaning. Thus we shall examine the visual systems of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* in their entirety within the codex, as if in a microcosm, in addition to their complex links to various external sources.

III.I. JESUS, MARY AND ST JOHN THE BAPTIST

These three stories belong to the iconographic layer of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* that has the greatest visual tradition. The designer of the legendary had the most obvious models to rely on, and thus had little need to develop his own independent mode of illustrating the texts. Naturally, the framework of the narration was set by the overall, pre-determined program of the volume. While Jesus was naturally allotted the most space, the cycles of both Mary and St John the Baptist also exceeded the average in length, although they are surpassed by the cycles of some apostles and prominent saints such as Ladislás, Francis and Mary Magdalene. We should also keep in mind that Mary may have had a central role in the lost cycle devoted to Jesus's childhood; in fact, we cannot exclude the existence of a cycle portraying the childhood of Mary at the beginning of the codex.

The analysis of these three stories below is only cursory, since a detailed treatment would extend beyond the framework of this study, although it would be an important task for future research. Such an undertaking would require the examination of an immense visual tradition,

and given the volume of material research in this area has been inadequate. Moreover, the iconographic traditions of Jesus, Mary and John the Baptist are dominated by a different set of practices than those found in the legends of the other saint. A more detailed analysis would lead us away from the object of this study, the examination of the visual system of the saints making up the core material of the codex. The individual image types in the legends of these three saints originate from more defined iconographic precedents, and the textual background also distinguishes them from the majority of other saints found in the legendary. Therefore, we shall only focus on those central features that help integrate the three cycles into the entirety of the codex, and restrict ourselves to just those comments relevant to the visual system as a whole.

Today forty-nine images from the life of **Jesus**, which begins the codex, are known. This represents scarcely more than half the original number. Codicological evidence suggests that an entire quire is missing from the beginning of the codex. Thus a total of three quires might have been dedicated to Jesus, with ninety-six images in all. This number might have been less, even if we exclude an individual cycle depicting the childhood of Mary, since the first folio may have contained a dedication picture (either full or half page), and the most important scene, the crucifixion, may have had a different format (a full page picture).¹⁵ Therefore it is impossible to say with absolute certainty that there were ninety-six pictures, but even so, the cycle's status within the codex is clear: it was originally four times as long as that of the major apostles and St Ladislav, and also greatly surpassed in length the extraordinarily detailed cycle of St James (originally seventy-two images).

Since the story is quite fragmented, the structure of the original cycle can only be partially analyzed. Of the pages we have, the first group (the first four pages of the surviving material containing a total of twelve images)

shows the public life of Jesus: his teachings and his miracles. If we include the lost pages, then (together with the story of his childhood and other depictions) fourteen pages are devoted to this aspect of his life. The next group (the third assuming there was a group dedicated to his childhood) deals with the Passion and consists of ten pages and thirty-seven known scenes. We should note there is no sharp distinction between the scenes of public life and the Passion; the opening scene of the Passion depicting the Entry into Jerusalem appears in the last space on the page.

Naturally the Gospels provide the textual background to the cycle, but not uniformly (see Table 22 in Appendix A). The influence of the Gospel of John dominates in the miracle stories, although the text does not include Jesus's healing a man with edema (L 6c) or the anointing of Jesus' feet (L 4a), which are known only from the Gospel of Luke. It similarly does not contain the Transfiguration (L 5d). All four gospels deal in detail with the Passion, although certain episodes differ. In summary, John and Luke together tell nearly the entire story. An exception to this is Mary anointing Jesus's head in oil, L 7b, which only Matthew and Mark describe in this form; John talks of the anointing of the feet, while only Matthew, L 5a, describes Peter's role in Jesus's walking on water. Meanwhile, the textual background for the end of the story (Ascension, Pentecost, L16 a–b) comes from the Acts of the Apostles. Other scenes (Jesus's Descent into Limbo, the Resurrection, L 14c) are not based on New Testament texts, but rather on visual tradition. This mixing of sources and the inclusion of some non-textual ones suggests the Scriptures were not the direct source for the legendary. Instead a secondary narrative of the life of Jesus was probably used – most likely one from a thirteenth or fourteenth century Italian book of devotion or collection of sermons. Unfortunately the *Golden Legend* is not useful here, since the disjointed stories of Jesus are not narrative in nature. At the same time it is clear that when the

cycles were compiled, the visual tradition was taken into consideration; prototypes of this type were most likely what was available in the workshops of manuscript miniaturists, although the voluminous cycle of Jesus in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* would have put its executors to the test.

Instead of a detailed introduction of the cycles, we will just note some of their distinct features below. The two sets of images on the first page (Fig. 3) are interrelated. The second pair, the healing of a royal official's son in Capernaum is noteworthy because the official and his family are painted with crowns: this "elevation in rank" is in fact a result of the need to translate "royal official" (*quidam regulus*, Jn 4:46) into the visual idiom. On the second page (L 4), four separate stories appear. In the first, the penitent woman anointing Jesus's feet in the house of a Pharisee is shown with a nimbus in keeping with iconographic tradition – she has been identified as Mary Magdalene. The apostle who speaks with Jesus during the Feeding of the Five Thousand (L 4c) might be Philip or Andrew, based on the Gospel of John (Jn 6:5-8); in any case his physiognomy is closer to that of Simon or Judas Thaddeus, although such consistencies cannot be expected from images placed several quires away from each other. The order of the next two images (the Adulterous Woman, L 4d, and Jesus Walking on Water, L 5a) is switched. In the scene that follows, Jesus curing a blind man with mud, he is depicted twice. The Transfiguration, as iconographic tradition prescribes, is shown in a multi-figural composition, and the size of the figures is pronouncedly decreased, a feature unusual to the codex.

The extensive Passion Cycle fits in with the Italian Trecento tradition. The overturned tables and cages in the Cleansing of the Temple (Fig. 4) and the episodes of the Arrest (L 8d) recall Giotto-like solutions (in the Scrovegni Chapel), while other features (Peter and the sandals in the Washing of the Feet, L 7d) are much closer to the traditions of Duccio (Maestà). Generally, the

compositions in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* follow traditional solutions. In contrast the double narration of the Last Supper is worth noting. In one (Fig. 5) Jesus addresses the apostles with the head of his beloved disciple in his lap, while in the next (L 8b) we see the establishment of the Eucharist in a symbolic presentation: Jesus holds the host (!) in his right and the chalice in his left.¹⁶ The apostles are kneeling like believers at mass. The composition of the two scenes reflects two different traditions: in the first Jesus sits on the left side of the table (this is a fixed type in early and Byzantine iconography, but in this image the table is straight in keeping with Western patterns from the tenth century). In the second he is in the center; this also has early origins,¹⁷ and was later more widespread in the West. Surprisingly, Judas Iscariot does not appear in either picture, although he is usually found in the first composition type.

The scenes following the Arrest reveal an exceptional sense of drama: the two scenes with Caiphas¹⁸ are each followed by an image that brings to life the stages of Peter's betrayal (Fig. 6). The further stages of the Passion are conspicuously detailed (Fig. 7) and the Road to Cavalry is allotted three images: Jesus with the cross; the thieves also bringing their crosses; and Simon of Cyrene carrying the cross on his back (Fig. 8). The removal from the cross, mourning and entombment are also depicted in three images (Fig. 9). An entire page is devoted to the Resurrection, two pictures depict the Descent into Limbo, and another shows Jesus stepping from the grave (Fig. 10). Finally the three Marys meet with the angel – this page displays the rich set of tools provided by the different iconographic traditions. However, it is surprising that the disciples at Emmaus are missing, while other appearances occur (Fig. 11). The cycle then comes to an end following some narrative scenes (Ascension, Pentecost) with two cult images: the Throne of Mercy (with the symbols of the Evangelists) presented in a slightly antiquated mode and the Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum* with the



Fig. 3. Life of Jesus, scenes 41–44, Morgan Library M.360.1 (L 3)



Fig. 4. Life of Jesus, scenes 57–60, Morgan Library M.360.5 (L 7)



Fig. 5. Life of Jesus, scenes 61–64, Morgan Library M.360.6 (L 8)



Fig. 6. Life of Jesus, scenes 65–68, Morgan Library M.360.7 (L 9)



Fig. 7. Life of Jesus, scenes 69–72, Morgan Library M.360.8 (L 10)



Fig. 8. Life of Jesus, scenes 73–76, Morgan Library M.360.9 (L 11)



Fig. 9. Life of Jesus, scenes 77–80, Morgan Library M.360.10 (L 13)



Fig. 10. Life of Jesus, scenes 81–84, Morgan Library M.360.11 (L 14)



Fig. 11. Life of Jesus, scenes 85–88, Morgan Library M.360.12 (L 15)



Fig. 12. Life of Jesus, scenes 89–92, Morgan Library M.360.13 (L 16)

Arma Christi) summarizing the Passion (Fig. 12). While the first, a composition of monumental nature, directs our attention to the trinitological features of Redemption, the second stirs up feelings of sympathy in us towards the suffering Christ, as if the goal were only to show the duality of the divine and human dimensions.

The death and the glorification of the **Virgin Mary** (L 17–19) logically follow the Christological series both in terms of hierarchy and chronology. The cycle, presented in ten scenes, largely follows iconographic tradition.¹⁹ The textual basis for the depiction may be the *Golden Legend*, with the exception of the last scene. The story begins with the Annunciation of the death of the Virgin, which is a visual parallel of the Annunciation of the birth of Jesus; even the palm branch,²⁰ which according to the text is in the hands of the angel, better resembles a lily. Two events are merged in the second image: Mary's meeting with John and the arrival of the apostles. The third image presents some problems. According to Levárdy "Jesus appears with angels, patriarchs, martyrs and virgins."²¹ In fact we only see women, who at the end of the narrative in the *Golden Legend* can be identified with the multitude of friends, relatives and other women mentioned in the description based on Cosmas.²² According to iconography of Byzantine origins, the death of Mary is presented with her lying in bed, and her soul in the hands of Jesus. The next two scenes depict the funeral procession. In the first the Jewish high priest (dressed in the clothes of a bishop) places his hand on Mary's body, but his hand becomes paralyzed while the other figures go blind. In the second, the high priest, now cured, heals the converts with the palm leaf brought by the angel (the angel with a sword as shown in the picture has no textual basis). At this point a surprising twist takes place: the body, prepared for burial, is bathed and embalmed by girls (L 18c). Here the order has obviously been rearranged.²³ Next follows the entombment with the addition of an angel; this is not found in the text of the

legend. Finally the Ascension of the Virgin (with Doubting Thomas and the belt cast off to him) and the Coronation of the Virgin are depicted. While the former image combines two scenes from the *Golden Legend*, the latter has no textual source, although by the fourteenth century a rich visual tradition had developed.²⁴

The story of **St John the Baptist** has survived in full and is divided into twelve scenes (L 20–23). We can divide this into three groups: the first three concern the birth of John, the next two are associated with his prophetic works, while the third, which takes up more than half of the cycle, shows the passion of St John. The iconography of John is among the most widespread and most developed²⁵ not least of all because of the number of rich wall paintings decorating baptisteries. In contrast the series in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* does not reveal any particularly unique character. The *Golden Legend* could not have been relied on, since the relevant chapter is not narrative in nature. The Gospels similarly could not have been direct sources since, as with the Jesus cycle, the selection of material from the Gospels is not uniform (See Table 11).

Consequently it is very likely that by the early fourteenth century a well-developed visual tradition had formed the basis for this picture cycle. The first part, the birth of John, is a regular part of the longer cycles, oftentimes presented in even greater detail. Noticeably, the Visitation is absent from this cycle, although most independent stories of John contain the scene. Presumably it was omitted in the legendary because it already appeared in the life of Jesus. Also noteworthy, the Virgin Mary does not play any role in the story, although the *Golden Legend* expressly mentions that she is present at the birth of John.

The second part gives only a quick glimpse of two aspects of John's prophecies. In the first we see him alone in the wilderness with a banderole in his hand reading: *Vox clamantis in dese[r]to*. This picture is not narrative

Image number	Scene	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn
L 20c	The angel appears to Zachariah			1:5-20	
L 20d	Birth of John			1:57-58	
L 21a	Zachariah writes John's name			1:62-64	
L 21b	John in the wilderness	3:1-4		1:80	1:23
L 21c	John points out Jesus				1:29-40
L 21d	John appears before Herod	14:4	6:18		
L 22a	John's arrest	14:3	6:17		
L 22b	The dance of Salome	14:6	6:21-22		
L 22c	The beheading of John	14:10	6:27		
L 22d	John's head is brought to Herod	14:11	6:28		
L 23a	Salome gives John's head to her mother	14:11	6:28		
L 23b	The burial of John	14:12			

Table 11. New Testament sources of the legend of Saint John the Baptist

in nature, but rather an *imago*, and thus generally appears alone rather than in narrative cycles.²⁶ The inscription, however, is usually similar.²⁷ In the next scene John points out Jesus, and according to the *titulus* he declares, "Here is the Lamb of God who takes away the sin of the world!" (Jn 1:29, Oxford Annotated Bible) The two disciples of John the Baptist, Andrew and John the Evangelist, can be identified based on their physiognomy.

The length of the third part is again in harmony with iconographic tradition. There is some uncertainty at the beginning: here John stands before Herod Antipas in the usual trial scene, with soldiers behind him, but with no rope in his hand as in the next image. In the visual tradition pictorial elements of the arrest and the trial are not generally associated with John's warning; instead his arrest is a consequence of this. The double presentation of the head appears in especially great detail in two separate scenes in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, which is rare; generally the two scenes are merged or one is left out. On the other hand, the burial, usually a special feature of this Hungarian codex, here is completely in keeping with the iconographic tradition.²⁸

III.2. APOSTLES AND EVANGELISTS

Of all the saints appearing in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, the apostles are allotted the greatest portion of images. This group contains the largest number of saints with more than twenty images assigned to each cycle (Peter: 22, Paul: 24, Andrew: 20, John the Evangelist: 24 – from the other groups only Ladislav attains this volume: 24). In fact, after Jesus, St James the Greater has the longest cycle (originally 72 images). The group of apostles and evangelists presumably consisted originally of 216 pictures and of these 184 are known – this comprises almost one-third of the entire codex.

Of the activities of the apostles, their public work is the most prominent, although their miracles and passions also receive a significant amount of weight. Less emphasis is given to the presentation of their virtues. Apparently the missionary efforts of the apostles, which naturally occupy a central position, are not expressed merely through images of the saints preaching and debating issues of faith, but through miracles as well. This can be observed with the martyrs too, and the question

naturally arises whether martyrdom had similar features.

Among the diverse group of saints, the series of apostles and evangelists are the most fixed. In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* the inclusion of only Matthias and Thomas are in doubt, but we assume that Thomas probably did appear. Of the four evangelists, two are included among the apostles, and two immediately follow. The divisions within the group occur not between apostles and evangelists, but rather between saints allotted longer or shorter cycles – this naturally relates to the intensity with which the saint is revered. We should note, however, that the uneven distribution of images among the apostles and evangelists does not mean that the visual scheme of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* lacks proportion. In fact the situation is actually the reverse: less revered saints gain prominence through more lengthy cycles than normally found in the iconographic tradition. This is the case because these cycles are adjusted to the legends of the greater apostles who are honored with even longer cycles.

The first group of apostles: the greater apostles

The series of apostles begins, in keeping with tradition, with the heads of the apostles: Peter and Paul, followed by the third most revered saint (especially in the East) Andrew, the brother of Peter. The next scene is of Jesus' favorite disciple, John, followed by his brother, James the Greater. At this point the distinction is clear; the average number of images per apostle hereafter drops from twenty and above to eight.

The twenty-two-image cycle of **St Peter** is not the longest among the apostles (Paul and John are each allotted twenty-four), but this probably has no deeper significance and may have come about only because the preceding cycle of St John the Baptist ends in the middle of the page.²⁹ The legend of St Peter consists mainly

of scenes alternating between his miraculous healing of people and his resurrecting the dead, but also contains his persecution.

A definitive source of the iconography of Peter is the wall painting cycle in the nave of the old San Pietro in Rome, painted around 681, which is continued by a cycle in the portico dating to the second half of the thirteenth century.³⁰ The impact of this series during the period in which the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* was made is clear in the wall paintings of S. Piero a Grado near Pisa (made around 1300), which are based on the series in the old San Pietro.³¹ An image cycle of this kind begins with scenes from the Gospels (Peter's calling, Navicella, Tribute Money, Peter passing on his pastoral duties), and continues with the Acts of the Apostles (healing a lame man, teaching and performing miracles in Jerusalem, the story of Ananias and Saphira, the healing of Aeneas, the resurrection of Tabitha, the conversion of Cornelius, his miraculous liberation from prison, episodes in Antioch) ending finally with scenes from the Apocrypha (fourteen scenes). Noticeably the cycle of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (which corresponds to the above in order of magnitude) contains a rather one-sided selection. Not one scene from the Gospels is included, while the Acts of the Apostles is illustrated in detail: scenes I, III (?), II, VII, VIII, (V? and) XI, XII-XV correspond to those listed above. Afterwards there are a few scenes from the Apocrypha. The absence of scenes from the Gospels could be explained by the inclusion of some, but not all, of them in the cycle of Jesus. The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* clearly and consistently avoids the cardinal points in Church politics: there are no references, even later, to Peter as head of the Church; at most, this is compensated for by his placement on the throne of Antioch (XV, L 28a).

If we examine the Italian visual tradition in a wider context, we find that the martyr element is stronger than average³² in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, and also

that certain stories are more greatly elaborated. This is especially true of the events in Antioch³³ and the struggle with Simon Magus. A textual source for each image can be found partly in the Acts of the Apostles and partly in two chapters of the *Golden Legend* (one related to Peter's main feast day, the other to the *Cathedra Petri*).³⁴

Thus we can see that in Peter's cycle, the colorful, epic scenes are more prominent, while the symbolic scenes more important in Church politics are deemphasized. At the same time, the motifs of his clerical calling and role as bishop are given more than the usual weight with scenes of Antioch, the origins of priestly tonsure, and his placement on the throne.³⁵

The story of **St Paul** the apostle begins where that of Stephen the Protomartyr ends – thus chronologically depictions of him usually start at this point.³⁶ In this case, the first page of the saint's legend is missing, so we do not know how the cycle begins, but the conversion was almost certainly included. On the surviving pages the legendary follows the Acts of the Apostles in relatively great detail all the way through image XVI. The story depicted in images XII–XIII (the resurrection of the boy fallen from a window) also appears in the *Golden Legend*, but with different names. The three images following this can be explained from the Acts of the Apostles, and scene XIX from the *Golden Legend*. The source of the intervening two pictures (XVII–XVIII) is unknown at present.³⁷ The overlap of these two sources may have interfered with the structure of the legend.

Iconographic tradition offers no assistance either in analyzing the images in question. Although Paul is the most revered of the apostles next to Peter, long cycles of his life can be found only in Rome and Sicily.³⁸ Although these can also be traced back to the Acts of the Apostles, the selection of scenes is considerably different than that found in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. In fact, the visual scheme in the legendary is entirely unique and as such deserves greater attention.

In the twenty surviving images, mainly miracle cures and the persecution of the apostle appear. These scenes alternate almost with regularity.³⁹ Paul is rarely represented preaching or teaching, although this is what he was famous for.⁴⁰ Important historical events are not depicted either: the crucial synod of Jerusalem is absent, while it is uncertain whether another scene is meant to show the speech at Areopagos.⁴¹ Thus we do not see the apostle as a tireless missionary or influential orator, but rather as a saint capable of performing miracles and enduring agony, one who relies on these virtues to win converts.

Another gap is worth noting: we learn nothing about the fate of the remains of either Paul or Peter in their cycles. In fact, Paul's cycle even lacks the burial scene, which is unusual in this codex. Thus the prominence given to Peter and Paul arises simply from their rank as heads of the apostles, and no special motivation from Rome lies in the background.

In the cycle of the apostle **St Andrew**, as in the legends of Peter and Paul, conversions, privations and miraculous events alternate with one another. Right at the start of the legend there are some uncertain points. If we accept that the program is based on the *Golden Legend* (and this is the most likely scenario), then the first scene should be interpreted as sending to Andrew to Murgundia.⁴² The next scene should therefore show him completing his mission by freeing and healing the apostle Matthew. In contrast, we see a figure with the characteristic physiognomy of Andrew⁴³ in prison being visited by a young saint (perhaps Matthew?) and then an angel leads Andrew out of prison while the saint gestures towards his own eyes – like someone who has just regained his vision. Apparently the miniaturist thoroughly misunderstood this event.⁴⁴

The interpretation of the next pictures is less problematic. Andrew remains in Murgundia enduring the anger and blows of the people though in the end he converts them. Of this, all we see is Andrew's suffering, which is

similar to that of the heads of the apostles (III). In the last image on the page he again finds himself in danger because of his missionary activities, but miraculously he escapes (IV).⁴⁵

In the next stories, Andrew appears as the helper, protector and savior of the defenseless. Scenes V–VII tell of a boy unjustly accused by his mother of violence. Andrew stands by him, and with the Lord’s help, justice triumphs despite the ruling of the cruel judge – this story is fairly rare in the iconography.⁴⁶ Next we are in Nicea, where devils in the form of dogs attack people. After the apostle drives them away (VIII)⁴⁷ they appear in another town, but the boy they have mangled to death is resurrected (IX–X). Andrew again triumphs over the devil when he revives the forty drowned men (XI–XII).

Andrew was persecuted because of his missionary work. After he christens the wife of Aegeas (XIII), the governor first tries to force him to make a sacrifice, then imprisons him, whips and crucifies him (XIV–XVIII). Among the passion images, the depiction of Andrew praying to the cross stands out,⁴⁸ as it is more meditative than epic in nature. The next scene, his crucifixion, has unique iconography: the horizontal depiction of the cross originates from a misconstrued comment by Johannes Belet, and is mostly common in the French regions.⁴⁹ The diagonal “St. Andrew’s cross” became more common only in the fourteenth century and thus could not have been the source for the image in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.

Passion scenes are more common in the Italian iconographic tradition too, while life stories and miracles are rarer. The largest is a fresco cycle from Parma dating to the early fifteenth century,⁵⁰ and this corresponds most frequently to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Therefore it appears that the iconography of Andrew found in the codex also must derive from an early, unusually lengthy version.⁵¹

This cycle does not end with a burial scene, but (for the first time in the codex) with a posthumous miracle.

The *Golden Legend* associates Andrew with two posthumous miracles, and the first appears in the legendary in a detailed presentation. Here a bishop is tempted by the devil in the guise of a beautiful woman, and only the saint appearing as a pilgrim can prevent the bishop’s beguilement. Although this is not at all rare in the iconographic tradition,⁵² given the volume of the cycle and its relationship to the legends of the greater apostles (Peter, Paul, John), it still seems like a strange appendix. Apparently – and the analysis of other cycles supports this – this temptation scene has an important role in the program of the codex not only because of Andrew’s involvement, but because of the presence of the bishop in the story.

The cycle of **St John the Evangelist** is in harmony with both iconographic tradition and the text of the legend. Apparently a model that fit with the character of the visual program and the space allotted it could be followed with relative ease. Thus the special features of this cycle are the results of only some minor refashioning, condensation and expansion of scenes. Based on this, we find that the stories at the beginning of the cycle are expressed more succinctly.⁵³ This is especially true of the debate with the philosopher Craton (V), which omits important episodes (Craton ordering the gems of the rich youth to be broken, John restoring them and offering them to the poor), and turns straight to the resurrection of the dead youth – after all, this event is the final argument rendering obvious the truth of John and Christianity. The stained glass of Chartres, which clearly follows another tradition, broadly presents the same stories as those found in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, but elaborates this point at greater length.⁵⁴

The cycle narrates in detail the next episode in which John is led to the altar of Diana and forced to make a sacrifice (V–VII). This event, which is generally shown in one scene in most cycles,⁵⁵ is divided into two here: constraint and persecution are separated from the miracle of

the pagan temple's collapse. At the same time the drinking of poison is presented in more than the usual detail.⁵⁶ Five pictures are dedicated to this story, which provides a full blend of scenes of persecution (VIII: trial), miracles (VIII: the poison has no effect, IX–X: the dead are resurrected) and conversion (XI: conversion, XII: baptism). Finally, the story of the youth entrusted to the bishop, very rare in the iconography, follows⁵⁷ with at least four images dedicated to it.⁵⁸ This story is the only one in the legend of John in which a bishop appears (twice). We also see a young man who goes astray and is then converted; in the end he himself becomes a bishop.⁵⁹ The last page of the cycle might have shown the end of John's earthly career. In the only surviving image we have from this page Jesus informs John, shown as a graying old man, of his imminent death.⁶⁰

The four cycles of the greater apostles have shown us that in most cases some kind of iconographic tradition was available from which episodes were selected, either in an expanded or abbreviated form. Moreover almost the entire repertoire of visual tools used in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* appears here: different kinds of cures, exorcisms, resurrections, scenes of persecution and passion, preaching, and debates on issues of faith. These motifs, often intertwined and inseparable, alternate with each other, and thus do not serve as an organizing principle in the legendary. The blended image types highlight their similar function: most frequently these scenes serve as tools of conversion.

To a certain degree tradition governed these cycles. Variations on the standard formulas appear in two cases: if more than the usual length was required or if the saint in question had no well-developed iconography. An example of the former is the legend of St James the Greater, while examples of the latter are the cycles of the lesser apostles and the evangelists.

St James the Greater

Among the apostles, **St James the Greater** was by far allotted the greatest number of pictures. With sixty-four surviving images, at present this is the longest cycle in the codex, although originally the life of Jesus would have surpassed it. This series, once containing as many as seventy-two pictures, is unrivalled in length in the widespread iconography of St James.

The cycle is divided into three parts – the first (now containing twenty-three, but originally twenty-five scenes) narrates the life of James and his martyrdom, the second is dedicated to the translation of James' relics to Spain (thirteen scenes), and the third shows a series of posthumous miracles (now twenty-eight, but originally thirty-four scenes). This largely corresponds to the three types found in the iconography of James. The earliest cycles present the story of Hermogenes and we find examples of this beginning in the early thirteenth century in France, especially in series of stained glass windows (Chartres, Bourges). The second type deals with the life of James and in particular with the translation of his corpse, and became widespread in the fourteenth century. Finally, the third type depicts posthumous episodes; this is closely related to the increasingly popular pilgrimages to Compostela and spread primarily in Spain at the end of the thirteenth century.⁶¹ No other cycle but that in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* explores in such detail all three layers of the legend. However, this complexity does not result from any kind of fusion of the various iconographic traditions, but rather from the cycle's strict adherence to the text of the *Golden Legend*. This may be the only cycle in the codex that interprets every episode of the textual source without any selection.

The first part of the legend is composed of three different stories. The first deals with James' missionary journey to Hispania: the initial picture shows him preaching, the second among his disciples, and the third his return



Fig. 13. Life of James the Greater, scenes I–IV, Morgan Library M.360.15 (L 47)

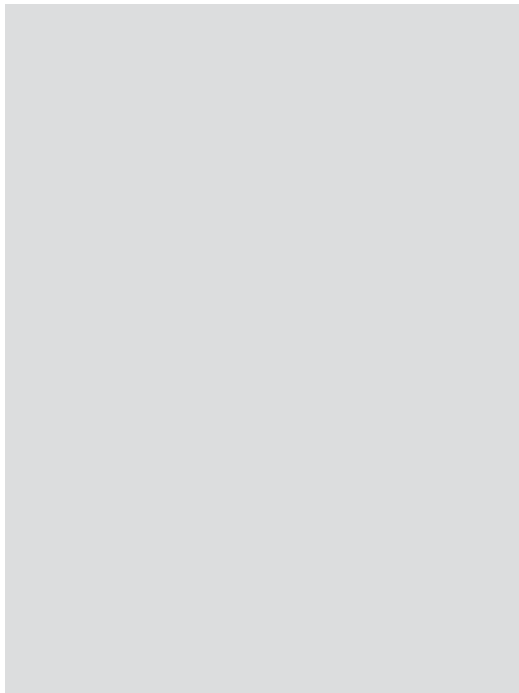
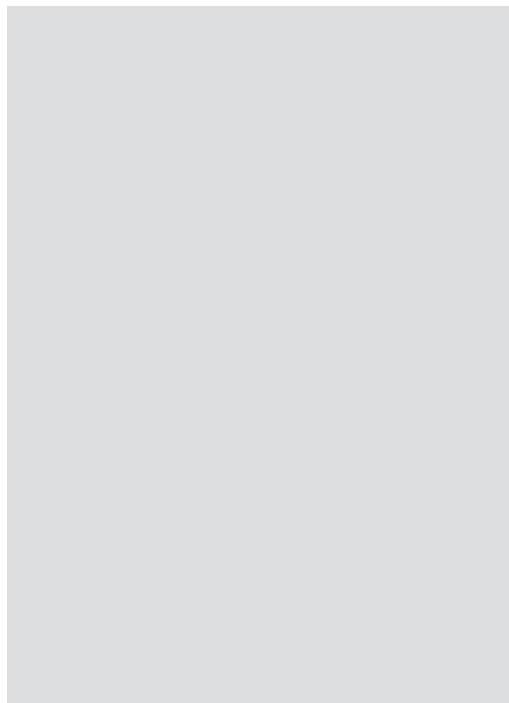


Fig. 14. Life of James the Greater, scenes V and VIII, Morgan Library M.360.16 (L 48)

to Palestine leaving two disciples behind (Fig. 13). This story does not generally appear in painted cycles, since according to the legend his attempts at converting people were unsuccessful: the apostle only amassed nine disciples before he returned home.⁶² This failure is not reflected in the codex; in fact the images suggest just the opposite: in the first image a respectable audience listens to James' oratory; in the second he is depicted with his nine disciples, shown in the manner typical of Jesus and his disciples (given the size of Hispania, nine is a small number, but within the scale of the picture, it appears as a crowd); finally, the two disciples left behind prostrate themselves before James with the greatest humility, and James can hardly free himself of them. His Spanish mission thus appears in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* like a true journey of triumph.

The next story (the longest in the legendary with fifteen scenes) narrates James' struggles against the contrivances of the Jewish sorcerer Hermogenes. The saint is so successful that he not only wins over Hermogenes' disciples and sets the sorcerer's own demons upon him, but also manages to convert the sorcerer himself, who willingly throws his books of wizardry into the sea and begins preaching about Christianity. The highly detailed, colorful presentation follows the text of the *Golden Legend*, although there are certain differences and uncertainties. Images IV–V (L 47d-Fig. 14) might portray the conversion of Philetus according to the events of the legend, but James is depicted differently in the pictures. It is possible these two images were meant to represent the act of conversion in Judea in general, and the conversion of Philetus is rendered only one of the lost images. Pictures VIII–X closely follow the miraculous liberation of Philetus, going slightly beyond the text: according to the legend Hermogenes did not throw him in prison, but rather used his magical powers to cripple his unfaithful disciple. Images XII–XIV show Hermogenes being dragged before the apostle by his own devils. Strangely enough, at this point Philetus and

James engage in a debate, while Hermogenes stands in the background – although it should be the reverse (XV). Finally the sorcerer, tossing his books into the sea,⁶³ is converted⁶⁴ and preaches about the faith (XVI–XVIII). The text, however, does not write of Hermogenes's sermons, nor of those he converted or debated with – according to the legend, the Jews reviled James and were converted under the influence of Hermogenes. A scene showing Hermogenes' preaching, however, is known in iconographic tradition.⁶⁵ Apparently, here not only the legend but also some kind of visual source served as a starting point.

The third story shows the martyrdom of James. Here we only have comments regarding Josiah, who was converted on route. The scribe is dressed as a soldier, and if we compare these scenes with those images from Chartres Cathedral (where the text of the *Golden Legend* could not have been used as a source), the differences in emphasis is palpable: the windows at Chartres show the mistreatment of Josiah followed by the beheading of the apostle and the scribe in two separate panels,⁶⁶ while the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* omits the first scene and combines the latter two. The conversion and baptism of the scribe, however, are each shown in a separate image. In the program of the codex, scenes of conversion were of greater importance than scenes of suffering.

The second main part of the cycle shows the translation of St James. There is one point in the events of this story where there is some uncertainty, and that concerns Lupa. The disciples in image XXVIII are talking with a distinguished man on a throne who is identified in the inscription as Lupa.⁶⁷ In the next picture the disciples are sent on by a queen who the *Golden Legend* calls Lupa. The same confusion recurs at the end of the cycle: the inscription again labels the distinguished man as Lupa, while the *Golden Legend* identifies the woman who prostrates herself before the grave of James as Lupa. In the cycle, however, the clothes of this woman do not correspond with those of the queen in XXIX and the inscription also does

not mention her.⁶⁸ Perhaps the inscriptions should be separated from the images, since elsewhere too they have only increased confusion (the king of Hispania for example is identified as Herod!⁶⁹) In this case, the distinguished man is one of Queen Lupa's men – her deputy who occasionally acts in the queen's name – although this is inconsistent with the known text of the *Golden Legend*.

The legend of James closes with twelve miracles in which the apostle helps troubled people who have turned to him; most of them are pilgrims. All twelve miracles are depicted in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, but not in the same detail. Only one or two scenes are devoted to the first five, while miracles seven through twelve are divided up into three to four episodes each. This may not express any intent to differentiate among the miracles. Instead the makers of the codex may have been more interested in filling the remaining space with increasingly detailed modes of presentation.

Amongst the miracles are some that regularly recur in the other legends of James, and therefore in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* as well: James frees two men from prison, and releases the shackles of a third man (L 63b, Fig. 16; see the legends of Francis and Mary Magdalene).⁷⁰ Another time he erases the sins written on the scraps of paper (cf. similar scenes in Giles and Mary Magdalene⁷¹). The last episode in the series deals with a peasant boy who has been tortured (he is tied to the tail of a horse and thrown into fire), but with the help of James he remains unharmed – the series of failed attempts at torture are typical of a distinctive group of martyrs (cf. Blaise, George, Cosmas and Damian, etc.)

For other miracles that are especially associated with pilgrimages it is difficult to find other analogies in the pages of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*: James gives bread to a starving man (L 62b, Fig. 15),⁷² James lifts onto the back of his horse a pilgrim who had stayed with his dead companion,⁷³ a knight offers his horse to carry off the dead.⁷⁴ This last figure is rewarded with permission to confess following

his recovery from illness – a familiar scene from other legends (Francis, Mary Magdalene⁷⁵). In two other stories a family of pilgrims falls into trouble with an evil inn keeper: once, after the woman dies, the innkeeper robs the family of everything,⁷⁶ and another time he smuggles a silver cup into their baggage, robs them and has the son of the pilgrims hung.⁷⁷ This latter tale is among the most famous of the pilgrim stories, and is often presented in even greater detail: a capon flies from the desk of the judge to accentuate the boy's innocence; the boy resists some kind of temptation (presented as motivation for the deceitful acts of the innkeeper⁷⁸). However, these can be traced to sources other than the *Golden Legend*. Thus we can see that in this respect the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* follows the text of the legends rather than the visual tradition.

The remaining two miracles involve two youths who have been tricked by the devil disguised as St James. The boys were both driven to suicide, the first because of the miseries of his worldly life and the other because of an un-confessed fornication. With James's help both are resurrected and granted mercy, one from the Heavenly Court and the other from the Virgin Mary.⁷⁹ The scene of Jesus administering justice is depicted like earthly judgment scenes, and it is difficult to determine whether this is the result of a misapprehension or the unified visual world of the codex.⁸⁰

In general, however, most of the scenes from the cycle of James contain the usual set of visual tools found in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Attempts were made to depict in full, literally word by word, this legend which was of normal length in the Latin version.⁸¹ The iconographic tradition available, however, would not have been sufficient, and its influence can be felt only at a few points. In each case, suitable image types were also relied on, and consequently connections were made between the various saints in the codex, thereby aiding in the transformation of the divergent visual world of the codex into a unified fabric.



Fig. 15. Life of James the Greater, scene LXII, Morgan Library M.360.16 (L 62)



Fig. 16. Life of James the Greater, scene LXVI, Morgan Library M.360.16 (L 63)

**The second group of apostles:
the lesser apostles and the evangelists**

Matthew, Philip, James the Less, Bartholomew, Simon and Judas, and Mark and Luke are among the lesser apostles and evangelists. The average length of their cycles is eight images – thus two folios. This is the first appearance of this size cycle, which is also the norm in the remaining groups of saints. There are only a few deviations from this: the legend of Matthew is somewhat longer (ten scenes) and Luke's is conspicuously short (two images). Philip's cycle presumably consisted of six scenes, of which only two have survived: his arrest while preaching and the vengeful destruction of the owner of the dragon that was set upon him.

In this group conversion takes on noticeably more expressive forms. The legend of St James the Less begins with his preaching (L 47a), and this is true of the apostles Simon and Judas too (L 69 a–b). In the first scene in Matthew's legend, we see him arguing with sorcerers (L 65a) and in the fourth we see him preaching (L 65d). At the start of Philip's legend he is being swept away from the pulpit (L67 c), as in the sixth scene of James the Less (L 72 b). Scenes of miracles are also associated with conversion, which are largely designed for this purpose. At the same time, scenes of persecution and suffering are more set apart, appearing for the most part in the second half of the cycle, and sometimes relegated to the last image. The shorter legends also seem more structured.

The illustrated legend of **Matthew** is presented in essentially two stories. In the first he struggles in Ethiopia with two sorcerers, Zaroës and Arphaxath, who set dragons on people, but the apostle easily stops them; afterwards he holds a great sermon to a gathering of people (I–IV). In the other story he resurrects the son of a king and the entire population is converted to Christianity (V–VIII).⁸² Thus both stories are about conversion, and both end with a symbolic image: in the first a scene

of preaching and in the second baptism. Interestingly, these two scenes are the least known in traditional iconography.⁸³ At the end of the legend, Matthew's martyrdom can be seen: even in his final hours he inspires his followers to retain their faith (IX). The murder of Matthew before the altar in the church anticipates the martyrdom of the great martyred bishops, St Stanislaw and St Thomas Becket. As usual in the codex, the burial of the saint ends the legend, although the *Golden Legend* makes no mention of this scene (X).

The sorcerers driven away by Matthew reappear in the legend of the apostles **Simon and Judas**. After spreading Christianity in Mesopotamia, Pontus, and Egypt (I–II), the two saints meet with Zaroës and Arphaxath in Persia. The sorcerers use snakes against the saints, but are unsuccessful and thus forced to flee (III–IV). In another story, presented in just one scene, a deacon is accused of fathering a child, but the child born on that day clearly refutes the accusation (VI). This story recurs in a similar form in the legend of St Brice.⁸⁴ Finally the apostles suffer martyrdom, but the fury of the heavens strikes down the murderers, and finally after so many evil deeds the two sorcerers receive a just punishment (VII). The burial scene, which deals with the translation of Simon and Judas and the huge church built in their honor, is not based on the *Golden Legend*, but follows the visual customs of the codex (VIII). The cycle of the two apostles presented here is unrivalled in its richness, clearly a result of the cycle's expansion to fit in with the others.⁸⁵

We cannot say with certainty that the cycle of the apostle **Bartholomew** known at present is completely intact, although codicological examination suggests it is. The eight images on two folios (Figs. 17–18) essentially present the events of one story: his missionary success in India and his martyrdom. Like Matthew, Bartholomew also achieved his desired goal of restoring the son of the king to health (III). He also triumphs in his struggle against the demon Astaroth, who is first struck



Fig. 17. Life of Saint Bartholomew, scenes I–IV, Morgan Library M.360.20 (L 73)



Fig. 18. Life of Saint Bartholomew, scenes V–VIII, Morgan Library M.360.21 (L 75)

dumb (I), then abandons and destroys the idol erected to him (IV). The successful exorcism leads to the conversion of the king and his people (V), but his ruling brother has the apostle captured and sentences him to be flayed (VI–VII). The burial of the dead body, which the *Golden Legend* briefly touches on,⁸⁶ is depicted in the usual manner. According to M. Lechner, martyrdom in Italy was usually expressed with beheading, while in Spanish and French territories it was flaying.⁸⁷ If this is true then it appears important that the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* adheres to the story in the *Golden Legend* rather than following Italian pictorial tradition.⁸⁸ At the same time, the depiction clearly relies on visual prototypes, which can be felt in the physiognomy of the apostle. In contrast to the text of the *Golden Legend* (which describes the saint with curly black hair and a long beard with grey strands⁸⁹), the apostle here is shown as middle-aged with curly brown hair and beard. Besides Peter and Paul, Bartholomew has the most individualized appearance. His dress too is special, bearing no resemblance to that of the other apostles.⁹⁰ This is also known in Italian tradition, and is especially frequent in the North.⁹¹

Unlike the other legends discussed so far, the cycle of **St James the Less** is more striking for its liturgical features (Figs. 19–20). Although the first image is missing, the rest deal with this theme: he is consecrated as bishop (II), he prays in the Sancta Sanctorum (III), and Christ appears to him, delivering the Eucharist (IV–V). The second half of the legend is dedicated to the martyrdom of James: the key scenes show him being pushed from the ledge of the Church in Jerusalem (Jesus appears in the picture too, as the apostle has just testified to his existence) and being beaten to death with a milling rod (VI–VII). All we know of his burial from the *Golden Legend* is that it took place next to the Church – and the image thus shows architectural elements, although no attempt is made to refer to a concrete building (VIII). The cycle of James the Less is especially rare in iconographic tradition.⁹² The cycle in

the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is perhaps the longest of them all, and definitely differs from the others in that the emphasis is placed on James' role as a Church leader.

St Mark is the first non-apostolic evangelist to appear in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Unfortunately, because the cycle is fragmentary we cannot establish to what degree his being an evangelist affects the depiction, but the lost page almost certainly dealt with this theme. The surviving second page focuses entirely on his passion. The length of this part exceeds that found in the apostle cycles of similar overall length, but this scarcely allows for any far-reaching conclusions. There are some smaller differences from the text of the *Golden Legend*,⁹³ but the most conspicuous is the complete absence of the translation – although Venice has many ties to both Bologna and Hungary. The cycle itself is most analogous to a 1345 panel painting by Paolo Veneziano. Two of the seven scenes here (Jesus visiting him in prison and his death by beating) have a similar mode of presentation to that in the codex, and given the practices found in the legendary, it is possible that the consecration of the bishop also appeared on the first page.⁹⁴

We have little biographical information on the next non-apostolic evangelist, **St Luke**, and this is well reflected in the text in the *Golden Legend*, which merely catalogues his literary merits. Because his legend is not epic in nature, he also appears very rarely in the visual tradition. The only, albeit later, cycle connected to Luke come from Italy.⁹⁵ For the most part only a few individual depictions are known which show the saint involved in his characteristic pursuits: as a doctor examining urine,⁹⁶ or as a painter, making a portrait of the Madonna. Consequently the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* does not contain a true cycle, making due with two, non-epic depictions: a portrait of the classical author and a general burial scene. In the former, Luke is shown in the most usual pose and in terms of physiognomy he appears as a general beardless type. Strangely, however, the evangelist



Fig. 19. Life of James the Less, scenes II–IV, Morgan Library M.360.17 (L 71)



Fig. 20. Life of James the Less, scenes V–VIII, Morgan Library M.360.18 (L 72)

writes with his left hand; presumably some kind of visual misinterpretation lies in the background.

St Luke is the last in the group, ending the series of apostles and evangelists. The folio with the two images of St Luke also contains another legend consisting of just two pictures: St Stephen the Protomartyr. This is the only page in the entire codex that contains two complete legends – thus it is not a coincidence that the two shortest legends appear on the same page. Stephen is the first among the martyrs, and also the only one to appear in the Scriptures. Thus this folio serves as the transition between the two groups.

III.3. MARTYRS

As far as we know, the martyrs, the group following the apostles and the evangelists, consisted of nineteen cycles. Of course the overall number of martyrs in the codex is higher if we calculate in the great number of apostles who were also martyrs, the separate group of female martyrs (of these, only a fragment of the legend of St Catherine has survived) and the martyr Eustace, who appears among the confessors. In addition, the quires between the apostles and the confessors may have contained more legends of completely unknown martyrs, although this is unlikely.

The surviving cycles are not complete themselves. The cycles of John and Paul (appearing together) and Vitus are so severely fragmented that we cannot analyze them in detail, although we will touch on individual images when discussing image types. The legend of Lawrence may also be missing major parts, perhaps as much as half, but we are fortunate to have eight images. The legends of George and Christopher are also probably missing one page each, although we can still interpret the cycles. The cycles from the second half of the group have been preserved in their entirety in the Vatican codex: quires fourteen and fifteen are complete and their inscriptions can easily be evaluated.

The nineteen cycles do not appear to form one complete, unified group. Instead, two types can clearly be distinguished: one is characterized by a long, detailed presentation of the passion of the martyrs, while the other emphasizes messages unrelated to martyrdom as well. The first eleven cycles can be considered the first group of martyrs. It includes some of the Church's first saints, who are typically represented by deacons and soldiers. The second group, containing the remaining eight cycles, is dominated by popes and bishops (six in all), and in particular later, historically better known saints such as Peter Martyr and the bishops Stanislaw, Gerhard, and Thomas Becket.

What features do the martyrs have that distinguish them from the other saints in the codex? Obviously their greatest merit is their martyrdom; thus the cycles focus on their suffering which leads up to this. Surprisingly, this aspect is elaborated on at greater length in the legends of the apostles, but perhaps only because the Disciples of Christ have longer cycles overall. The cycles of the martyrs also contain a great number of miracles, demonstrating the saintliness of the martyrs, although the apostles and particularly the confessors surpass the martyrs in this respect too. Typically the martyrs are differentiated from the other saints by the scarcity of scenes from their public life or their missionary activities – after all, it is miracles and passions and not direct actions that generally inspire people to convert. Even fewer images are dedicated to a presentation of their virtues. As with the apostles, we know somewhat about the fate of their relics on earth, although not as much as with the confessors.

Certain differences between the two groups of martyrs are palpable. The first group, whose cycles contain a greater proportion of passion scenes, has fewer miracles. The proportion is reversed in the second group in which the public acts of the saints are allotted more space. Below we will carry out a more detailed inspection of these two groups.

The first group of martyrs

In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* the greatest number of scenes of arrest, interrogation, torture and execution are found in quires twelve, thirteen and in part of fourteen. Especially frequent are scenes of torture, failed execution attempts, the inevitable martyrdom, and the defilement of the corpse. The number and proportion of these scenes depend on the number of pictures dedicated to each saint. As an introduction, we shall use the legends of two prelates, Fabian and Blaise, to explore this problem.

The cycle of **Fabian** consists of four images on one page, while Blaise has twice as many. This reflects the intensity of their cults and the corresponding length of text in the *Golden Legend*: Fabian's legend is half a page, while Blaise's is almost three pages.⁹⁷ Depictions of the life of the Roman pope are excessively rare, and no complete cycle is known. As far as we know the only scene portrayed from his legend shows his beheading, and this dates to a period well after the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.⁹⁸ In contrast Blaise is one of the more popular saints, and his cycle is common.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the compilation of the Blaise's cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is no less original.

The legend of Fabian, following the usual etymology, describes the miraculous conditions in which he was elected pope after the death of his predecessor, how he set up deaconries and sub-deaconries, and how he banned Emperor Philip from participating in the sacraments until he repented. The last episode turns to his martyrdom.

The sequence of images differs slightly. It shows the miracle that took place at the displayed corpse of the previous pope (a white dove lands on the chosen one), but the next image reinforces the results of this miracle. Here the pope sits on the throne, the papal tiara on his head, with a cardinal and another cleric on each side. According to the inscription this is the election of the pope.¹⁰⁰ Indeed,

this is not an epic scene (which distinguishes it from other consecrations of popes and bishops bearing similar inscriptions), but rather a symbolic depiction like the *cathedra Petri*, the *majestas* image of Peter (L 28a). Thus the designer of the codex devotes more time to this event and chooses to leave out information on the deacons and Emperor Philip. Perhaps these were too difficult to show, but there may have been another reason: the designer of the codex does not appear to have been interested in questions of Church structure or politics – as is evident in the rest of the codex.¹⁰¹ The cycle ends with the martyrdom and burial scene. The text of the legend fails to even mention the burial, and its inclusion in the codex is a special peculiarity. In accordance with Fabian's rank two bishops and several clerics are active at his burial. Thus the image cycle informs us only that Fabian was a pope selected by the Heavens and a martyr. Thus we can see that although the written and painted legends are equally concise, emphasis is nevertheless differently placed.

The same is true for the legend of **Blaise**. The bishop of Sebaste is among the few prelates whose consecration is not depicted; his burial is also absent from the cycle. In other words those traditional scenes that regularly recur in the codex (and thereby express meaning not only about the individual saints, but about the assemblage as a whole) have been omitted – as if the designers of the codex wanted to reserve as much space as possible for just one aspect: the passion.

The image cycle of Blaise begins with three good deeds: in the first scene he tends to the animals, in the second he saves a child, and finally he cares for a poor widow. The bishop appears in the pictures as a guardian of the defenseless. But the soldiers already make their appearance in the second image, heralding the imminent suffering of Blaise. This passion story consists of five images; the first and last show the torture and beheading of the saint, while the middle three are dedicated to women sent to the gallows for venerating the bishop. Finally,

after much torture and a series of failed attempts at execution, we see his martyrdom. The aim of the series is to demonstrate the truth of Christianity, the strength of the Heavenly powers and the unwavering determination of the saints. While it is not difficult to find analogies to the first and last scenes, the scenes with the women have no place in Italian iconographic tradition. The legend of Blaise in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* therefore achieves distinction not because of its extensive depiction of the suffering of the bishop of Sebaste – there are other examples of this – but because of the volume of space devoted to the stories of the women who sacrificed their lives for the saint.

Thus we can see that in the distribution of scenes, the makers of the codex were influenced by the rank of the saints in the hierarchy, the intensity of their cult, and the emphasis shown in the written legend and the visual tradition – but the distribution of the message is fundamentally different, and presents some unique points of view.

Three deacons: Stephen, Lawrence and Vincent

The series of martyrs in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, just as in the history of the Church, begins with the deacons. Three such saints appear in the codex: Stephen the Protomartyr, Lawrence of Rome, and Vincent of Zaragoza, the first martyr of Spain. Their cults are intertwined at several points; the relics of Stephen are eventually placed next to Lawrence's in S. Lorenzo fuori le Mura in Rome,¹⁰² while Spanish tradition holds that Vincent and Lawrence are brothers,¹⁰³ and their passions may be interrelated.¹⁰⁴ Together they form the "three Levitas," appearing as joint patrons of several churches.¹⁰⁵

Despite the common features, the differences associated with the lengths of the cycles are immediately apparent. The first martyr is allotted a surprisingly small space – just a half page, while the legend of Lawrence is one of the longest in the codex (presumably consisting of sixteen images

– a length surpassed only by the cycles of Jesus, the apostles and St Ladislav, while the cycles of Francis and Mary Magdalene are of equal length). The length of the legend of Vincent at two pages is average. While in terms of proportion, the latter two largely correspond to the versions in the *Golden Legend* (Lawrence is among the longest with thirteen pages and Vincent is relatively short with three and a half), the cycle of **St Stephen** does not. Texts for two feasts of the protomartyr appear in the *Golden Legend*,¹⁰⁶ and iconographic tradition is also more ample. The codex shows only his martyrdom and burial, and neither scene is based on the *Golden Legend* (since neither Gamaliel nor Nicodemus is shown at the burial, and the location is the interior of a church rather than a field¹⁰⁷). No space is allotted to earlier events or to the *translatio*. Only the legend of Luke, which appears on the same page, matches it in brevity. In Luke's case it is more understandable given the uneventfulness of his life. Perhaps the inevitability of such a short legend for Luke is what led the designers to allot only the same amount to Stephen.

In comparison, however, the length of **St Lawrence's** legend is quite surprising. Even if we exclude those pages lost or only thought to have existed based on scant evidence, the unusually great quantity of images in this legend is clear. Of the eight pictures, five show his trial and one his imprisonment; these are balanced by two baptism scenes. Nevertheless the story begins *in medias res*, that is, we know nothing of his past or his relationship with Pope Sixtus. As such the story is difficult to understand, since the motif showing how the pope and Lawrence were both accused of taking the treasures of the Church is missing – thus it is not clear that Lawrence is presenting the poor to the emperor as the true treasures of the Church. The author of the *titulus* misinterprets this, describing it as a scene of adoration.¹⁰⁸ Even Levárdy was uncertain about this story, not noticing that the youth whose vision encourages a soldier to convert appears in the last image.¹⁰⁹

This motif draws attention to a peculiar shift in emphasis. Although the majority of images show the arrest and trial, the conversion motif is surprisingly prominent in the legend. The martyr appears in the role of missionary, but the conversions are not a result of the heroic endurance of agony, but rather of miracles (the curing of a blind man, the vision of the boy in a white scarf). In Italian tradition, iconographic analogies exist for all but boy in white scarf (and the trial scene in image II¹¹⁰). But among the scattered cycles, few follow the legend of the saint in a similarly consistent way as the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.¹¹¹

The cycle of **St Vincent** is easier to place in the visual tradition. There are a relatively large number of early cycles that we know of¹¹² and a serious tradition exists especially for the first three (arrest, torture with an iron claw and fiery spikes) and the last three images (a raven guarding the body, which is then tossed in water, and finally buried by Christians).¹¹³ The middle scenes of the legend are only known from Chartes: Christ appears before the saint in prison, who then passes away in a comfortable bed; this scene appears in the altar of Estamariu, but with a different composition. Thus it is not the suffering or the defilement of the corpse that is rare (that distinguishes Vincent from the other saints in the codex), but rather the more peaceful scenes, including a miraculous vision, which brings about the conversion of the prison guards. This recalls a similar layer of meaning in the legend of Lawrence.

Here too, in contrast to the visual tradition, nothing of Vincent's past (which is the subject of the first tapestry in Bern) is depicted, such as his conversion, his consecration as deacon, or his preaching. These are the very images that are missing from the cycles of Stephen and Lawrence. The absence of scenes showing the consecration of the deacons is rather conspicuous, just as the monks' taking of the hood, as we shall later see. The consecration of the bishops, on the other hand, is frequent. Thus,

the legend of the deacons is translated into the visual idiom in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* in keeping with iconographic tradition, while also employing solutions typical of the codex.

Three military saints: Christopher, George and Sebastian

Two of these three legends are fragmentary: about four miniatures are missing from the end of the cycle of St George; while the end of the legend of St Christopher is intact (in the Vatican, scenes XI–X, L 98a–b), but only four images from the first eight are known (in the Morgan Library, L 97). In determining the placement of emphasis, determining whether the Morgan folio was the first or the second page in the cycle is critical. Previous research has suggested it is the second;¹¹⁴ comparison with the text of the legend, however, contradicts this.

The first scene on the Morgan page (Fig. 21) shows **St Christopher**, who in his desire to serve the greatest lord is disappointed in the devil for running away from the cross; thus he asks a hermit for advice, and accepting it he transports travelers, including the infant Jesus, across a river. This makes up the first half of the story in which the giant of Canaan discovers Christianity and reaps his reward. His faith is put to the test through torture and execution attempts. All we see of his passion is his imprisonment with two beautiful girls, who not only fail to tempt him, but are also converted. Clearly one or two pictures must have been placed at the beginning showing his search for a deserving lord (but definitely not as Levárdy reconstructs the legend: the message he believed was contained in images three and four is in fact found in the first image on the Morgan leaf.¹¹⁵)

In addition, a rather large difference is found in the passion sequence. The text of the legend delves at length into the different kinds of torture (he is whipped with an iron switch, fire is burned beneath him, he is shot at with arrows), including the execution of the converted



Fig. 21. Life of Saint Christopher, scenes I–IV, Morgan Library M.360.23 (L 97)

girls (we see a similar motif highlighted in the legend of Blaise), and in keeping with this, the visual tradition also contains extended depictions of the passion of Christopher.¹¹⁶ Worth special mention is the contemporary *Liber depictus* of Krumau (Česky Krumlov), which devoted twelve pages and thirty-six lines of illustration to this legend. Although the story is obviously narrated in more detail, with the arrest of Christopher elaborated on at even greater relative length (a part of the story completely absent from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*), it is nevertheless intriguing that between the temptation and the beheading nine illustrations (some depicting more than one event) deal with the torture of Christopher.¹¹⁷ Thus the images from the Saluzzo material, re-assembled on one leaf by the Morgan Library, could be placed at the beginning of the legend, based on their content. Unfortunately, no codicological clues suggest their original positions. We could then reconstruct a lost folio page consisting of four scenes of torture following the Morgan Library page. If this is true, then the figure of Christopher fits better with the neighboring saints: as we shall see, the legend of Cosmas and Damian also centers on their suffering, just as those of Blaise and the deacon saints. The question is how characteristic this is for the other two military saints.

St George was a favorite saint of the Angevin period and was an important element in Hungarian knightly culture; it is enough to refer to the establishment of the Order of St George in 1326 and the great veneration of his relics.¹¹⁸ But do the depictions of St George as a knight-saint in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* meet our expectations? After all, following the great flourishing of the cult of St George in the twelfth century, which developed within the fervent atmosphere of the crusades and the formation of the knightly ideal, the new leading motif in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is martyrdom.¹¹⁹ This is reflected in the 1338 St George cycle found in the Czech castle of Jindřichův Hradec (Neuhaus), in

which only one of the four surviving rows is devoted to the slaying of the dragon; the majority of the fifty scenes deal with his passion.¹²⁰ Further examples could also be found among a long list of fourteenth and fifteenth century works, such as frescoes, tapestries, and altarpieces.¹²¹

The closest analogy to the image sequence assembled in the codex is the ca. 1410-20 altar of St George from Valencia, usually attributed to Marzal de Sas, now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London. All eight of the surviving images from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* have an analogue among the eighteen scenes from this altarpiece. The connection is obviously not direct, but C. M. Kauffman has suggested that the Spanish altar may have had a similar codex as a prototype.¹²² This assertion, which presumes that the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* represents a widespread codex type,¹²³ requires more investigation; but the cycle of St George found in the legendary may very well have followed an established iconography.

As further support of this, a parallel to every scene can be found in Italy, although no cycle exists in which every scene is present. The closest analogy is a Veronese codex from the end of the thirteenth century,¹²⁴ which, despite its much greater length (fifty-seven scenes), does not contain the conversion of the king. Notably, its style is quite similar to that of thirteenth century Bolognese manuscript illumination (although naturally much more archaic than the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*). To a certain extent the compositions of the scenes in the two codices show similarities. An example of this is the first, most famous scene, the slaying of the dragon.¹²⁵ In both pictures the dragon lies at the feet of the horse while the saint, his cape waving behind him, thrusts his lance diagonally into the dragon. In the Veronese miniature George has a triangular shield with the symbol of the cross on it – this is not visible in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, since the saint wears it on his back, but the shield with cross does appear in scene IV. This Byzantine-type

iconography is not in itself specific, but it is worth noting that the rescued princess in both pictures leads the dragon on a rope, as the struggle still continues. Clearly the scenes have been condensed, although it is uncertain whether this results from the abridgement of a longer prototype.¹²⁶ This can be more easily imagined in the case of picture IV, in which the sorcerer appears twice.

It seems that the St George cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* can indeed be traced back to a prototype that was edited to fit the needs of the codex. At certain points the codex (or some of the prototypes) goes beyond the usual iconography of the time.¹²⁷ But in terms of the distribution of scenes, a unique rhythm can be discerned in the legendary's cycle: the triumphs and trials of St George alternate regularly with each other (I–II: the defeat of the dragon and the christening; III: torture scene;¹²⁸ IV–V: withstanding the trial of the sorcerer, who converts and is martyred; VI–VII: an attempt to break the saint on the wheel and cook him in oil; VIII: destruction of the pagan temple with the saint's prayer). These triumphs, however, are not the victories of a knight-saint, but rather those of a saint in God's good graces. The aim here too is to spread the faith: thus the trial with poison and the slaying of the dragon take on another meaning.

Thus we can see that with Christopher and George, it is not their role as soldiers (or knights) but rather their martyrdom that dominates. **Sebastian's** role as soldier is even less perceptible in his cycle, in which other motifs (and not just the story of his suffering) are brought to the fore. The first page of the saint's legend is occupied by images of healing and conversion,¹²⁹ and only the second page contains his suffering with the well-known torture scene with arrows, the defilement of his corpse,¹³⁰ the miraculous discovery of the body, and the burial. This is a new feature in the iconographic tradition, which normally emphasizes the passion.¹³¹ Thus Sebastian is a member of the first group of martyrs whose passion story receives the same weight as the scenes of miraculous healing and

ultimately conversion – a motif present in some form or another in the other legends in the group. We may expect this to be especially true for Cosmas and Damian, the two doctor-saints who heal for free, and in our detailed analysis we hope not only to show this, but also to discover a paradigm that can be applied to the whole group.

Sts Cosmas and Damian

The cult of these two doctor-saints, who performed their medical arts for free,¹³² originated in Syria and spread west early on: they were the first Eastern saints who were included in the Roman canon of the mass in the fourth century. Their cult is frequently associated with their occupation: medical organizations and university faculties generally choose them as patron saints. For example they appear on the seal and flag of the University of Bologna.¹³³

The martyrdom of **Cosmas and Damian** was dealt with most extensively in a twelfth century fresco cycle from Essen (now destroyed), the two predellas of Fra Angelico from around 1440¹³⁴ and Lancelot Blondeel's 1523 altarpiece from Bruges (see Appendix A, Table 23). In terms of time, space and narration of the legend, the panels of Fra Angelico are most closely related to the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, although this comparison can only be made with some reservations.¹³⁵

The legendary devotes ten scenes to this cycle, which of all the medium-length cycles is among the longest. The scenes have all survived in the Vatican codex (fol. 56Av–57v, Figs. 22–24); thus their inscriptions have also been faithfully preserved. The cycle, as in several other cases, begins on the lower half of the page. In the first page the saints have already been arrested and have refused to make a sacrifice to the pagan gods. Their limbs are being twisted at the order of the governor,¹³⁶ but the depiction is not entirely clear. On the left we see one saint dressed in a pink robe being held at the knee by one of the executioners. Another executioner is perhaps grabbing at his foot.

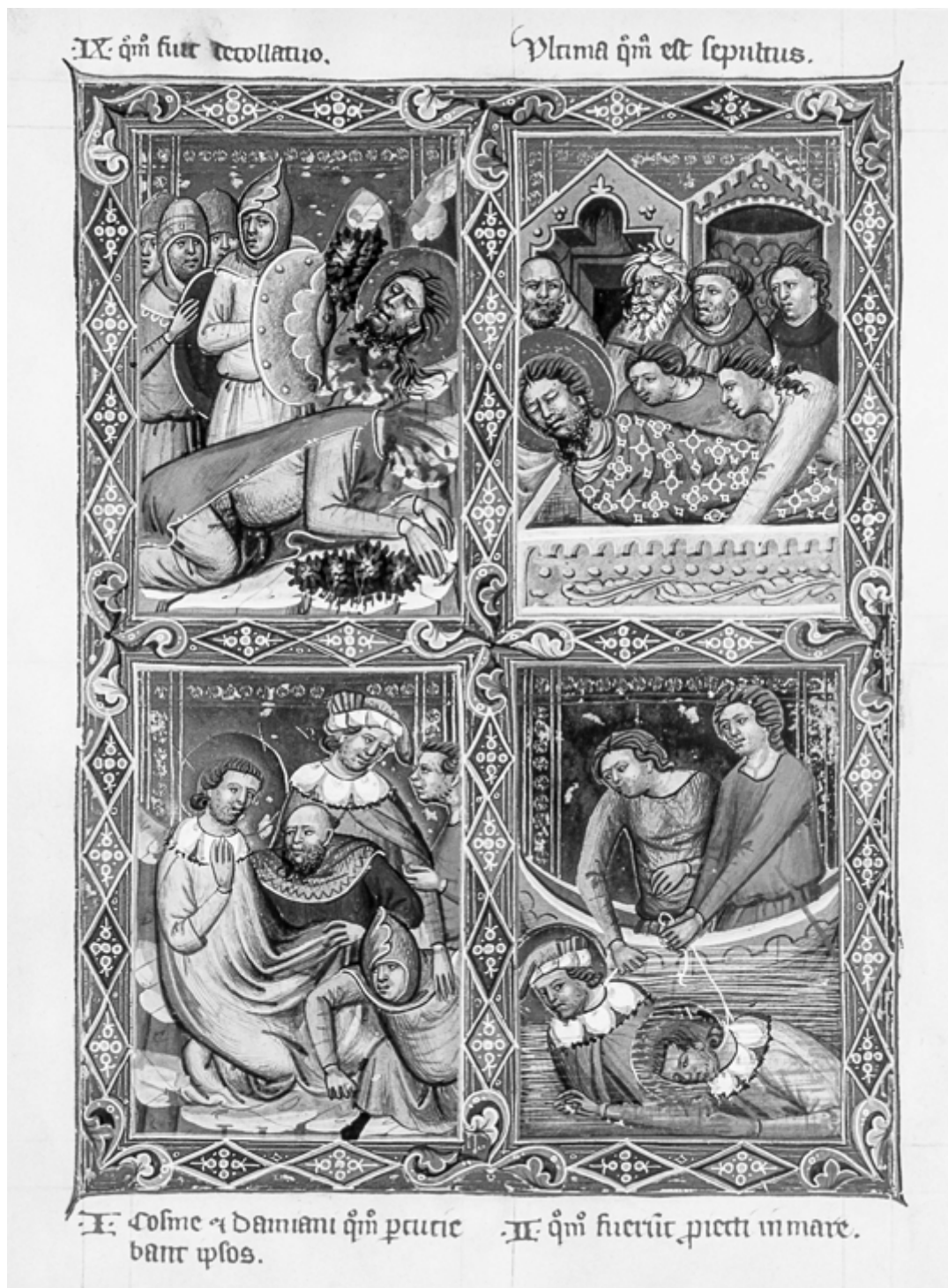


Fig. 22. Life of Saint Christopher, scenes IX–X, and Saints Cosmas and Damian, scenes I–II, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 56Av (L 98)



Fig. 23. Life of Saints Cosmas and Damian, scenes III–VI, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 56r (L 99)

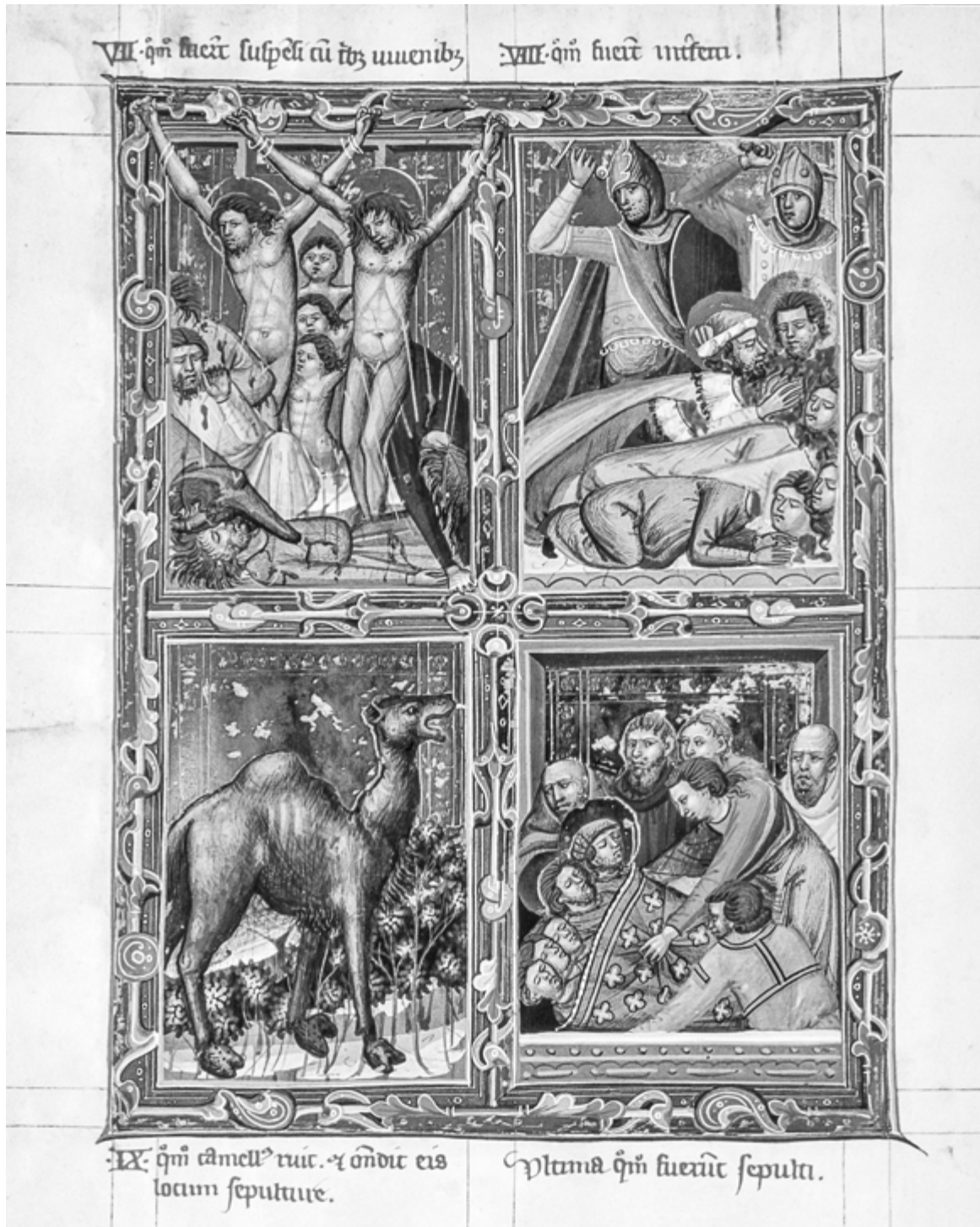


Fig. 24. Life of Saints Cosmas and Damian, scenes VII–X, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 57v (L 100)

The other saint appears on the left in green, and his right arm is being grasped by a man in red: his gesture, however, can be interpreted as speech. Understandably the author of the *titulus* describes the scene as a beating.¹³⁷ In contrast to the text of the legend, the image shows only the two main characters being tortured, with their three brothers only arriving later. No other depictions of this scene are known.

In the next scene the two brothers are being lowered from a boat into water by a rope around their neck. According to the legend, they were tossed in shackles into the sea,¹³⁸ but the painter ignores these details. He also excludes the scenes where an angel rescues them, moving directly on to the scene with the angel presenting them to the governor (scene III).¹³⁹ A gold crown refers to the rank of the governor. The scene is similar to the usual interrogation episodes found in the legendary, but here an angel leads the saints instead of a soldier, thereby signaling the anticipated miraculous outcome of the story. The drowning scene is relatively frequent (found in the Essen cycle, the panels of Fra Angelico and the work of Blondeel), and is often merged with the angel's rescue (Essen, Fra Angelico). The motif of being led to the governor is not known in this form, but the role of the angel is similar to that in the written legend providing a link between the scene of them being tossed into the sea and the new miracles that occur when they are before the governor (cf.: Fra Angelico's panel from San Marco now in Munich).

The governor, who is not persuaded by the miracles, is suddenly attacked by two demons, and in the fourth scene we see the doctor-saints exorcising the demons.¹⁴⁰ Their gestures, an outstretched pointer finger, or pointer and middle finger together, are used as signs of both chastisement and blessing in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. The right arm of the saint in the pink robe extends behind his back to an improbable length in order to render his gesture and the joint act of healing discernible. The inscription, which reminds us that the exorcism

of the demons happened "before the king," fails to grasp the essence of the story.¹⁴¹ This scene is relatively rare, appearing only in the work of Blondeel and the panel painting of Fra Angelico mentioned above.

The next three scenes show the unsuccessful attempts to execute the saints. These are the most frequently depicted episodes, appearing in all the aforementioned cycles. The fifth image of the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* shows the brothers thrust into a large fire, but the flames leave them unharmed, spreading instead to the onlookers.¹⁴² According to the *Golden Legend* they are then put on the rack, but the arms of their torturers grow tired and once again they are unharmed. Up to this point the five brothers are all tortured together, but now the younger three are put in prison, and only the two doctor-saints are crucified and stoned. Parallels to this can be found in the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*: the sixth picture shows the stones falling back on the stoners.¹⁴³ Then once again the three brothers are brought out and arrows are shot at all five, but the arrows reverse direction injuring the soldiers instead.¹⁴⁴ The text clearly speaks of four soldiers – in contrast, in the seventh picture five figures can be seen, although their role as soldiers is not obvious. The author of the inscription does not mention the shooting of arrows or the miraculous turning of the arrows.¹⁴⁵

The eighth picture shows the beheading of the five brothers. The two soldiers hold the swords high in the air, although the heads of the five martyrs are already detached from their bodies.¹⁴⁶ The text of the legend implies that the governor, recognizing his impotence, orders their beheading for lack of a better solution. This scene is also essential in the cycle.

The last two episodes relate to the burial of the saints. In the ninth scene we see a camel with gold rays emanating from his mouth, signifying speech. According to the inscription the camel reveals the burial place (obviously to the Christian believers, who are not included either

in the inscription or the picture).¹⁴⁷ In the tenth image a group of believers place the five saints, covered in a green veil, in a common grave. As is the habit in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, the two bald men at either edge of the picture (in green and pink cowls), as well as perhaps the untowered figure in a brown habit, could probably be monks – although (in contrast to the practices found elsewhere in the legendary) no discernible clerics participate actively in the burial.

A depiction of the burial is not common in the visual cycles, and the camel motif is especially rare (appearing in Fra Angelico's panels from San Marco). Only in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* does the camel image become so independent that it fills an entire scene; in fact no similar images can be found anywhere else in the legendary. The prominence given to the burial, on the other hand, is typical of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* as a whole.

If we compare these images to the text of the *Golden Legend*,¹⁴⁸ it is clear that the camel's role is not to indicate the grave site as the *titulus* suggests, but rather to allow for the burial in a common grave, thereby resolving an earlier conflict. At the beginning of the legend, Damian, without his brother's knowing it, accepts a trifling sum for the healing of a woman named Palladia. Upon hearing this Cosmas declared that he would not be buried in the same grave as his brother. This motif, which practically acts as a frame to the story of the saints' passion, makes less sense in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, since the first scene showing the healing of Palladia does not appear.¹⁴⁹ In contrast, the Palladia scene begins the cycles in both panels by Fra Angelico, while its companion, the image showing the story of the "black foot" acts as the closing scene. Here the doctor-saints replace the bad leg of a servant of the church with the leg of a Moor. This posthumous miracle is among the most popular depictions in the West, and is described in detail in the *Golden Legend* too.

If we compare the sequence of images in the legendary with the panels of Fra Angelico, we find that the scenes missing are those showing the healing activities of the doctor-saints: the first (Palladia) and the last (the black leg).¹⁵⁰ This is true if we compare it to the *Golden Legend*: the opening and closing paragraphs are left out. The martyrdom, however, is dissected in great detail: in fact almost the entire cycle is devoted to this. Thus the legend of Cosmas and Damian is among those cycles in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* in which the portrait of the martyrs is almost entirely defined by their suffering. Naturally the miraculous episodes are not ignored: the passions are often lengthy because of all the failed attempts.

Already in the first image however, it is clear that the doctor-saints stand in contrast to the other martyrs of this expressly suffering type: the majority of figures in the legendary have unremarkable dress, but the garb of Cosmas and Damian is highly distinct. They both wear long, fur-trimmed cloaks and one has a fur cap, a *chaperon*. This dress, which normally includes a long tunic under the coat, is typical in Italian depictions of Cosmas and Damian. In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* the third image in the cycle adheres to this most closely. Fra Angelico also depicts the saints with *chaperons* in his panel from Annalena while in the other series another type of hat appears: the *berretto*. In Italy the color of the dress is most often red: the pink color of the hatless figure may recall this, though in any case the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* does not consistently make use of the symbolic meaning of colors – occasionally the monks' habits appear in the most unlikely hues.¹⁵¹ Notably, the depictions of Cosmas and Damian in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* follow the Italian type, which is suited to expressing the high social status of doctors. Also worth noting is that this dress is not limited specifically to doctor's dress in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* or in other Italian examples¹⁵²: judges also wear this kind of outfit.¹⁵³ This is therefore not only a question of style, but one

of content too; in other words, it is related to the design of the visual program: the occupation of the doctor-saints who practice medicine for no fee is recognized as similar to the work of a judge. We should not forget that Bologna had both faculties of law and medicine, and the cult of Cosmas and Damian was popular throughout the entire university.¹⁵⁴

The second group of martyrs

Thus far we have only dealt with martyrs whose passions served as the focal points of their legends. In the other group of martyrs this aspect is less prominent, and other motifs are brought to the forefront. There is no clear division between the groups, since the proportions change from legend to legend. In general, we can say that the martyrs appearing first in the codex generally belong to the first type, while those toward the end belong to the second, although right away in the cycle of the fourth saint, Sebastian, scenes of healing and conversion are given the same weight as scenes of martyrdom. But overall, stories of the passion play an increasingly smaller role as we progress toward the end of the martyrs: only one image in the cycle of Thomas Becket deals with his martyrdom, while the other three narrate his activities and their related miracles. If the stories of suffering decline in importance, then we need to explore which motifs fill in the freed up space.

The rather narrow framework of the legend of **St Clement** (the pope) does not allow for a more nuanced analysis.¹⁵⁵ The first of the four pictures (L 101) shows his election as pope, with St Peter's selection of him given prominence and then further emphasized by the presence of another two bishops. The two popes preceding him, Linus and Cletus, are mentioned in the *Golden Legend*, but omitted here.¹⁵⁶ The next image shows the pope living in exile: he is represented as a hermit, although according to the legend another 2000 Christians were also

exiled to the island.¹⁵⁷ The third picture shows his martyrdom (being tossed into the sea),¹⁵⁸ while the last depicts angels miraculously forming a house underwater for his holy relics.¹⁵⁹ Clement thus appears as a companion to Fabian who we see among the first martyrs (L 83): both become pope under extraordinary circumstances (one chosen by the Holy Spirit represented by a dove, the other by St Peter); the second pictures show them both as seated figures, the third their execution, and the last the handling of their earthly remains – substituted by a special scene in the case of Clement. Such connections extend across the groups, harmonizing legends physically distant from one another, and thereby creating a sense of greater unity, a community of saints. Fabian, however, is allotted a larger space because of his role as pope, while in the cycle of Clement, we find a strange motif not mentioned in the text: his seclusion. This motif recurs in the legend of another member of this group: St Gerhard. Only these two legends in this group contain a representation of the life of a hermit.

In the relatively short, but well tempoeed legend of **St Sixtus** (L 103a–104b), consisting of six scenes, the role of perseverance plays a palpably dominant role. In the first image the pope is led before the emperor after he rejects the idols. According to the legend the image is of the god Mars,¹⁶⁰ but in the codex we see the typical devil-like statue atop a post, thereby expressing the true nature of the demon dwelling within. The pope's behavior lands him in jail,¹⁶¹ but later he is brought before the idols again. When he once more refuses to worship them, he is beheaded¹⁶² and his followers bury him.¹⁶³ In this legend several pictures deal with the workings of the justice system, but the emphasis is nevertheless on the rejection of paganism.

The legend of **St Peter Martyr** (L 102) contains a great deal of miracles. In the first scene he protects the people of Milan from the heat of the blazing sun, but in contrast to the description in the *Golden Legend*, there is no mention of the heretical opponent; instead he joins the people in

begging for clouds,¹⁶⁴ as is commonly done for rain – and a few pages later, we find an example of this in the legend of Donatus (L 106b). The second and third pictures tell of his miraculous acts of healing (three in all). Several points of detail in the text are changed when the legend is retold visually.¹⁶⁵ One stands out in particular: in the images, Peter never appears alone, but is always accompanied by a fellow member of the order. The presence of a witness, as always, adds credibility to his miracle. In the codex, at the moment of his martyrdom, the saint appears alone, although in the text he has a companion at this point. While the splitting of his head – in keeping with iconographic tradition – is clearly visible, the scene otherwise follows the composition of execution scenes.

The *Golden Legend*, with its ties to the Dominican Order, spends fourteen pages telling the legend of St Peter;¹⁶⁶ thus the four images devoted to it in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* appear scant by comparison. It is also conspicuous how the protomartyr of the Order of Preachers is not shown to either preach or debate with heretics. According to legend, the event shown in the first scene is important because it provided an argument for the Dominican polemist – but in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* only the miracle is shown. We can thus conclude that makers of the codex set aside all Dominican tradition, and employed unique features in creating the profile of Peter Martyr. Strangely his acts of healing are what create a connection between him and the apostles, who are best known for this form of activity.¹⁶⁷

In the cycle of **St Demetrius**¹⁶⁸ (L 109-110) we get a far greater sense of the saint's persecution than in the preceding legends: three prison scenes are accompanied by two execution images. Still, this is not where the emphasis lies. The prison scenes are not gratuitous, but rather serve as the framework for some unusual events (two visitations and a conversion). Demetrius, known as a warrior saint, is not depicted as such; this role is given to the youth, whose story occupies the middle third of the

cycle. Following the young boy's conversion, he not only triumphs over a fearsome warrior on the battlefield but is also crowned with the wreath of martyrdom. This story is framed by two visitations: first the angel of the Lord places a crown on Demetrius' head (while the sign of the cross renders harmless a scorpion), and later Jesus comes to console him. The opening and the closing of the legend highlight the main motifs. The execution of Demetrius parallels the martyrdom of the young boy,¹⁶⁹ while the preaching in the first scene draws attention to the successful conversion.

An unusual aspect of Demetrius' story is the absence of a burial scene at the end. Instead we learn that his holy relics (ring and cloak) performed many miracles.¹⁷⁰ Later, we shall see that the relics and the miracles associated with the burial or grave are regularly occurring features, mostly in the cycles of Central European (especially Hungarian) saints. This is true of Demetrius too, since – as we have noted – his birthplace was in Sirmium, where his relics were preserved until the fifth century. From the eleventh century to the end of the medieval period, this locale was under Hungarian dominion and its name (Szávaszentdemeter) and (Orthodox, later Benedictine) abbey also honor the saint's memory.¹⁷¹ This probably best explains Demetrius' inclusion in the legendary, and his cycle was devised with this in mind. Depictions of Demetrius in the West are very rare,¹⁷² which is why an Eastern prototype has been suggested. Andreas Xyngopulos reconstructed his cycle based on two sets of images.¹⁷³ Of these, the earlier, a menologion (Oxford, Bodleian Library Gr.th.f.1¹⁷⁴) made in 1322-40 for the Thessalonican despot Demetrius Palaiologos, contains six scenes (fol. 54v-55r) which reveal many similarities to the legendary;¹⁷⁵ however, the transformation of the burial into a miracle of the relic seems to be a peculiarity of the Hungarian legendary.

As we have seen thus far, the stories of martyrdom are supplemented with a variety of motifs. Some scenes,

such as the execution, occur more widely in the legend cycles of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Images associated with burial also abound, but with some saints (Demetrius, Stanislaw and Gerhard) they are infused with unique local meaning. Scenes of exorcism or healing are more general; the legends of Stanislaw and Demetrius are special in that each contains an image in which the deceased is called upon to bear witness. Some recurring motifs thus help to strengthen the unity of the group: Clement and Gerhard are connected through their lives as hermits, while Donatus is aligned with the bishops Thomas Becket, Stanislaw, and Gerhard not only because of his martyrdom, but also because of the cruelty of the his parents' murder. From the outset the recurring ordinations scenes of the bishops also contributes to this – although this is not characteristic of this group alone, but the bishops appear here in great number. As such it is only fitting that we should devote greater attention to their presence.

Martyr bishops: Donatus, Stanislaw, Gerhard and Thomas Becket

St Donatus appears only very briefly in the *Golden Legend*,¹⁷⁶ while in the Hungarian legendary his cycle is one of the longer ones (L 104c–106). Its ten episodes contain the entire range of characteristic image types found in the codex. The cycle for the most part follows the text of the *Golden Legend*, but with minor omissions it achieves its own uniquely balanced structure. The saint does not even appear in the first picture: here we see Emperor Julianus murdering the saint's parents.¹⁷⁷ In response, Donatus flees to a hermit; at this point he is already wearing the clothes of a deacon though the legend never mentions his being made into a deacon. As a deacon, he performs two miracles: he exorcises the devil from the son of the prefect Arezzo (III), and he assists the dead wife of a tax collector in informing her husband where she hid their money

(IV). Later he is made bishop of Arezzo (V) and (influenced by a miracle not shown here) eighty citizens convert and are baptized by Donatus (VI).¹⁷⁸ Then two more miracles take place (the first and last of the five detailed in the text of the legend): Donatus exorcizes a dragon from a spring (VII), his prayers bring rain (VIII), and finally the pagans seize him (IX) and execute him (X).

His legend is narrated in the greatest detail on the marble tombstone of Arezzo made in 1365–75, but outside of Arezzo his iconography is relatively rare.¹⁷⁹ Therefore, the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is most likely a particular construction. The opening (his early life) and the closing (his martyrdom) are both separated from the central theme – the life of the bishop and the baptism – by two miracles. The miracles are distributed evenly between his life as deacon and bishop. The first and last scenes both depict brutal murders: the latter raising the saint into the ranks of martyrdom, while the former recalls similar events in the lives of the other three martyred bishops.

In the legend of **St Stanislaw** (L 107–108), the focus is on the cruel murder and the evisceration of the dead body.¹⁸⁰ The beginning of the legend shows the ordination of the bishop and his most famous miracle: the resurrection of Peter the knight who had sided with the bishop of Cracow in a debate. The next four images depict the main events of his martyrdom: King Boleslaw murders the bishop during mass and orders his body to be carved up and thrown to the dogs, eagles guard the body, and finally his followers bury him. The miracles that occur at his grave illuminate the saintliness of the martyr of Cracow. Of these, two are depicted in the codex. First the saint, appearing in full canonicals in the company of several other distinguished figures, blesses the people keeping vigil at his grave. In the second, he resurrects the son of a Hungarian nobleman who, in gratitude, makes a pilgrimage to his grave and offers a rooster and three loaves of bread to the saint.

We have already discussed the reasons for the inclusion of Stanislaw, the bishop of Cracow, in the legendary. In addition to some personal reasons, Stanislaw may have been one of the Central European saints listed in the supplement to the *Golden Legend*. However, the texts of late fifteenth century incunabula only partially overlap with the images in the cycle of Stanislaw, and no suitable sources are known for the last two scenes.¹⁸¹ The greater legend of Stanislaw possibly written by the Dominican friar Vincentius of Kielcza following Stanislaw's canonization in 1253¹⁸² is a more likely source for these (and naturally all the earlier scenes).¹⁸³ The cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* draws on the most essential elements of this legend: the resurrection of Peter, the martyrdom and the posthumous miracles.

It is debatable to what degree an early iconography of Stanislaw was available in the first half of the fourteenth century.¹⁸⁴ The first known scene from this legend is found on the back of a portal tympanum in the chapel of St Stanislaw in Stary Zamek dating to the 1260s; here we can see eagles guarding the body.¹⁸⁵ In Italy, followers of Giotto made two frescoes dealing with the story of bishop Stanislaw for the lower church of San Francesco at Assisi, where Innocent IV issued his bull of canonization in 1253. These works show the resurrection of Peter and the carving up of his corpse.¹⁸⁶ Later, especially in Polish regions, the saint's iconography was more widespread, with numerous altarpieces known from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. In these, the stories of Peter and his martyrdom are in the focus.¹⁸⁷ The kind of emphasis on the posthumous miracles that we find in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* has no precedents that we know of, and the resurrection of the Hungarian boy appears to be particularly unique. This story occurs in the third part of the legend and was the third among the miracles recorded during the papal investigation. In the original register of miracles it was number XXXIII, but this written description omits such characteristic features as the offering

of the rooster and the bread.¹⁸⁸ These appear as colorful details in the images in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*; the depiction of the sarcophagus is especially notable. It is the only painted sarcophagus in the entire codex, and as far as we can tell, its decoration shows Jesus and the apostles. The importance of this carefully constructed scene can perhaps be explained by the relative proximity of Cracow, the center of Stanislaw's cult. The miraculous episode connected to the earthly remains of the saint regularly recurs in the cycles of the Hungarian saints too.

The legend of **St Gerhard** (Figs. 25–26) is the first in the series of cycles dedicated to Hungarian saints, which is fitting, since the monk of Venetian origins was also Hungary's first saint and protomartyr.¹⁸⁹ Gerhard's cycle, like that of Emeric and Ladislas, has fortunately survived completely intact: a total of eight images were devoted to him.

In the first scene we see St Stephen greeting Gerhard who is on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. As we know from the legend, Gerhard was subsequently kept in Hungary by force.¹⁹⁰ Curiously, the king is not portrayed as a saint – perhaps the painter was unaware that the ruler who detained Gerhard was worthy of a nimbus. In the second scene Gerhard withdraws into the solitude of eremitic life with a book in hand.¹⁹¹ The third scene commemorates his ordination as bishop, while the fourth bears the inscription “quomodo predicabat populo.”¹⁹² The upper two images on the second page portray his martyrdom: in the picture on the left the pagans, after finishing with Gerhard's companions, set upon the saintly bishop with drawn swords.¹⁹³ Meanwhile, in the picture on the right we see his bloody body tied to the cart as it is thrust from the cliffs of the hills of Pest into the waters of the Danube.¹⁹⁴ The last two scenes show the saint arriving at his final resting place: in one, without assistance, oxen carry off the body; in the other the body is being placed in a sarcophagus.¹⁹⁵ Although the *Legenda major* speaks of several miracles in connection



Fig. 25. Life of Saint Gerard, scenes I–IV, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 68r (L 111)



Fig. 26. Life of Saint Gerhard, scenes V–VIII, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 69v (L 112)

with the transport of the body, this motif of the oxen carrying him off does not appear. A similar story, however, is known from the legend of St Ladislav (the cart sets off on its own for Várad without any kind of animal power), and this is depicted in the legendary a few pages later.¹⁹⁶ Similarly the placement of the dead body in the grave is not drawn directly from the legends. In the *Legenda major*, for example, the focus is on which of the competing church institutions wins the precious relics – an event completely absent from the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.

As a detailed analysis of the other images would also show, in transforming the legend of Gerhard into visual images, the written sources were clearly not the decisive factors. Thus it seems reasonable to suppose that some kind of already existing visual tradition was relied upon. Unfortunately, no other medieval depictions of the legend of St Gerhard are known either from Hungary or abroad. It is difficult to imagine that none existed, especially at the center of his cult, in Csanád.¹⁹⁷ The lack of evidence, however, suggests the veneration of the saint (and thus the depiction of his legend) was restricted to a relatively narrow circle, and probably did not cross geographic borders. Most likely the painter of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* similarly had no access to an independent visual tradition.

In such cases, another path could have been chosen: faithfully depicting every detail of the written legend. This appears to have been the method used in the cycle of St Emeric (L 131–132). But another solution was opted for in the legend of St Gerhard. If we compare the structure of the cycle to that of the next saint, **St Thomas of Canterbury**, we find surprising parallels. The legend of St Thomas (Figs. 27–28) also contains eight images, and the first four deal with his public life. The first shows the king (in this case Henry II of England) favoring the saint; the second shows the saint acting as the scholarly chancellor,¹⁹⁸ matching Gerhard's scholarly work carried

out as a hermit; the third shows his ordination as bishop¹⁹⁹ (just as Gerhard was named bishop of Csanád); and the fourth shows him holding mass (*quomodo celebrabat missam*).

The first two images on the next page of the legend of St Thomas Becket are linked: the Virgin Mary sews clothes of repentance for Thomas, and the saint learns of this through a cleric.²⁰⁰ The cycle ends with the martyrdom and burial of the saint.²⁰¹ If we compare this to the second page in the cycle of Gerhard, we find a similar composition: in both cases the first two images are related (which is uncommon in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*), and both cycles close with a burial scene. In the cycle of Thomas, however, the upper two images describe a miracle and the second to the last his martyrdom, while in the cycle of Gerhard, his passion comes first followed by a miracle, since the latter is more closely tied to the funeral scene. Here we should note that these are two relatively late (eleventh and twelfth century) “historical” saints, who do not have legends laden with miracles: consequently their martyrdom is given more prominence in the cycles.

A closer inspection of the fourth image in the legend of Thomas reveals the lack of any obvious occurrence of a miracle. The haloed bishop is holding mass, but this alone is not generally a subject for depiction. Moreover the written legend makes no mention of his fame as a celebrant. Levárdy interpreted the scene as tied to the next two images, telling the story of an uneducated priest, who was removed from his position, but who held the Virgin in great esteem. The Virgin then sent a hair shirt to the bishop Thomas through this priest, thereby assuring that the priest would be restored to his office. This interpretation is certainly wrong: the haloed preacher with grey beard and red chasuble cannot possibly be the same as the young unshaven cleric in pink, blue and brown clothing; St Thomas, on the other hand, always appears in the same outfit with the same physiognomy. That being said,



Fig. 27. Life of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, scenes I–IV, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 70r (L 113)

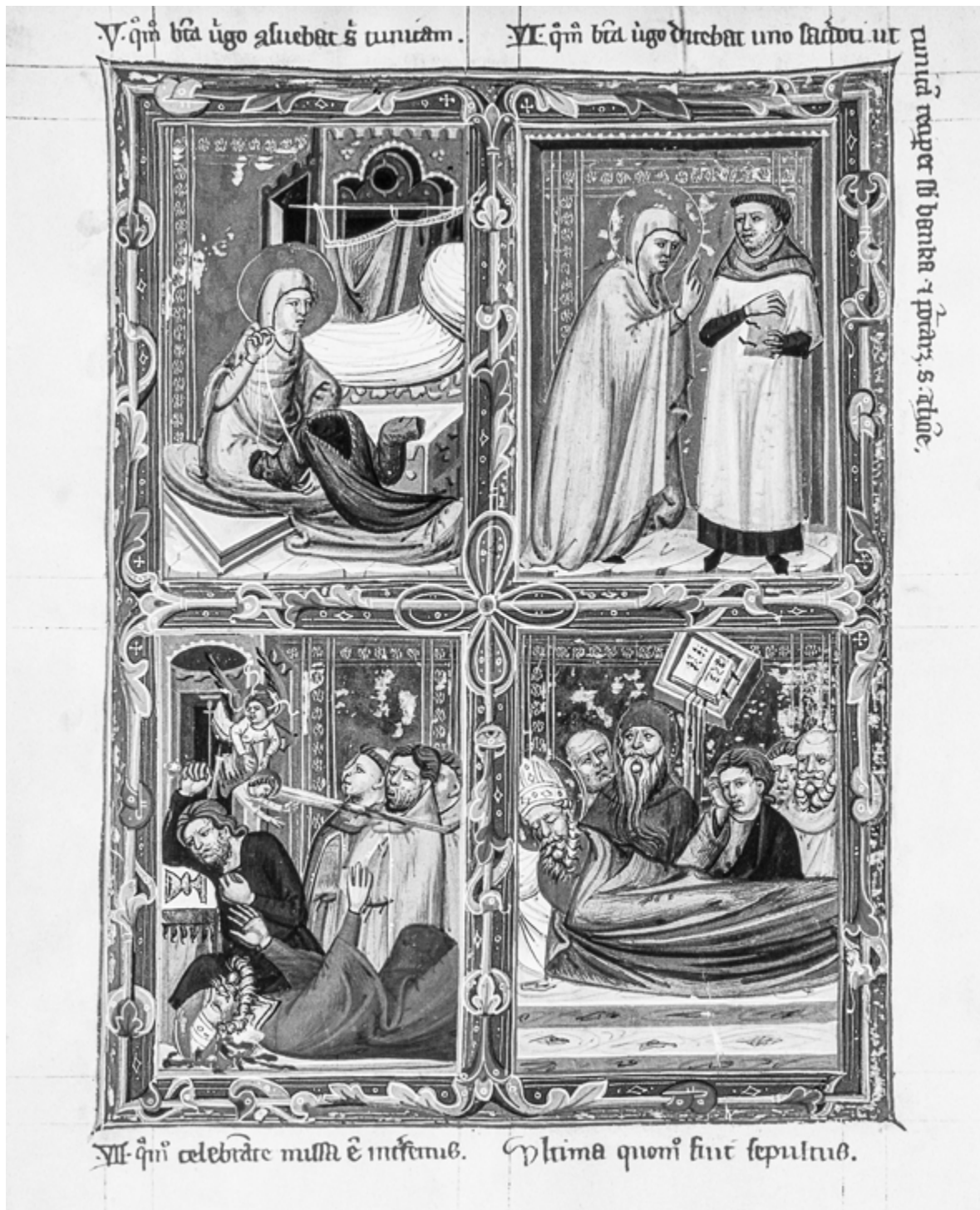


Fig. 28. Life of Saint Thomas of Canterbury, scenes V–VIII, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 71v (L 114)

Levárđy was probably not far off. The “mass of Thomas Becket” is an extremely rare scene, with only one known depiction.²⁰² Thus, the image was probably not borrowed consciously. More likely the source can indeed be traced back to the mass performed by the ignorant cleric, but was misinterpreted, and in the codex instead we see the bishop celebrating mass.

At this point we should return to the corresponding image in the legend of Gerhard. The fourth scene on the first page shows Gerhard in apparently everyday attire; in other words, he is portrayed in the midst of preaching a sermon, an activity usually not worthy of depiction. As in the legend of Thomas, no miracle is shown here, and the scene cannot be entirely drawn from the text. The legends only briefly refer to the bishop of Csanád’s reputation as a preacher, but this does not develop into an actual story.²⁰³ We shall see that in a lost page from the cycle of St Martin, the preaching scene is also the most unsubstantiated in the sources. In the end, the message of these images is the same: the bishop-saint acts in a manner appropriate to his office.

The legend of Thomas Becket could therefore have been one of the sources for the legend of St Gerhard; the two saints are also connected in their standoff with kings.²⁰⁴ At the same time the cycle also contains a misunderstanding that proves rather revealing: the recurring scenes of priestly activity in the legends of the bishop-saints were a requirement supported by the designers of the codex.

The inspirational roles of some other martyrs should also be mentioned here. On the second page of the cycle of St Sebastian, the first image shows his martyrdom, while the second the defilement of his corpse (thrown into a canal). In the third, Sebastian appears to a virgin and reveals the location of his body so that he may be given a respectable burial. The fourth depicts the burial itself (L 85). Obviously, in a broader sense, the structural relationship conveys the importance placed on the passion

and especially the denigration of the relics, the miraculous translation and the burial in the legends of the martyrs in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.²⁰⁵

III.4. CONFESSORS

The first group of confessors: popes, Church Fathers, bishops

The first group of confessors is composed of prelates, beginning with St Sylvester, a pope and crucial figure in the life of the Church, followed by the four western Church Fathers and ending with the first non-martyr saints: Martin and other bishops. Unfortunately only one image has survived from the cycle of St Nicholas. It shows the infant standing in the bathing basin (L 124)²⁰⁶ and bears surprising similarities to baptism scenes. This story and the related episodes in the legends of Ambrose and Dominic (L 118a, L 144a) are designed to reveal the great calling of the saints. Presumably Nicholas also had a longer legend but it is so fragmentary it cannot be reconstructed. We also cannot say whether there were other bishop-saints in the next group preceding the Hungarian “saint kings.”

St Sylvester

The period in which **St Sylvester** was pope (314-335) had without question great significance in the history of the Church. This was the time of the great Constantinian transformation of Rome (although the conversion of Constantine happened before Sylvester became pope), the debate over Arianism, and the first unified council in 324. The depictions of Sylvester are therefore often full of political references, with the Donation of Constantine in the focus. The best example of this is the 1246 fresco in the S. Silvestro chapel in SS. Quattro Coronati, Rome.²⁰⁷

The cycle of Sylvester in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (L 115a–116b) does not appear to exploit these possibilities. Not only is the Donation of Constantine omitted, but also his baptism. Instead other known, but less common, scenes from the iconographic tradition are included.

From the beginning the interpretation of the first scene is uncertain. In this picture we see soldiers leading the pope into a building. The *titulus* clearly identifies this as an arrest,²⁰⁸ and the visual composition is also similar to that in other imprisonment scenes.²⁰⁹ In fact, the *Golden Legend* refers to a case in which Sylvester is arrested for refusing to worship idols.²¹⁰ Strangely though, the context for this is lacking in the image cycle (the interrogation and refusal to make a sacrifice). Thus perhaps another story is being shown here: according to the *Golden Legend*, Constantine, hoping that the pope could cure him, “sent soldiers after Sylvester, who, seeing their approach, thought that he was called to receive the palm of martyrdom. He commended himself to God, encouraged the men who were with him, and went fearlessly to face the emperor.”²¹¹ The pope’s sense of foreboding is in harmony with the visual composition typical of imprisonment scenes. At the same time, the story itself does not show the illness, healing and christening of Constantine either. The image instead appears to be an introduction to the next in the series; the soldiers escort the pope to a debate (*disputa*), which is painted according to the legend’s description of this early event.

The next images in the series are clearer. In scene II, Sylvester engages in a debate with 141 Jewish scholars brought by the emperor’s mother, Helena;²¹² the pope and the wise men all rely on books and scrolls in making their arguments. In the background the emperor himself follows the events, but Helena, who was also present, is not shown in the picture. In images III and IV we see the miraculous defeat of the last wise man²¹³ and the baptism of the Jews,²¹⁴ but strangely in reverse order. In the *Golden*

Legend the miraculous revival of the bull decides the debate once and for all in Sylvester’s favor and the Jews convert as a result, but in the legendary the two events are switched. Generally in the cycles Sylvester has Constantine participate in the Sacraments, and this may explain the confusion surrounding the placement of the baptism scene. Only one late example exists from Italy of the baptism of the Jews.²¹⁵

Image V shows a miracle that took place immediately afterwards. The pagan priests accuse the Christians of causing the destruction wrought by the poisonous breath of a dragon in a nearby town. The pope descends into the cave (replaced by a lake in the picture²¹⁶) and not only renders the dragon harmless, but also rescues and revives two sorcerers who had dared to enter the cave after him and were nearly dead from the poisonous breath of the dragon. Consequently a multitude of Romans are converted, and “thus the Romans were delivered from a twofold death, namely from the worship of the devil and the dragon’s venom.”²¹⁷

In keeping with the practices of the legendary, the cycle ends with a burial scene, although the text of the *Golden Legend* does not mention this event. The burial of Sylvester is distinguished from similar images by the high rank of the participants: a cardinal is present in addition to the bishop who performs the ceremony. This obviously refers to the saint’s role as pope.

Clearly the focus of the cycle was not centered on Sylvester’s worldly power derived from his high ecclesiastical rank, but rather upon his outstanding evangelizing skills. The revival of the bull and the defeat of the dragon are not only colorful episodes in the legend, but they also symbolize the two phases of evangelism: one resulting in the conversion of the Jewish wise men and the other in that of the pagan Romans. The success of this act is underlined by the baptism scene, which is placed in the middle of the cycle. The debate with the scholars is an important part of this process, but this alone is insufficient: spectacular

miracles are needed to bring about true results. We shall see that the role of scholars represents just one feature in the portrait of the Church Fathers.

St Gregory the Great

Of the four Western Church Fathers, **St Gregory** appears first, his legend consisting of six scenes (L 116c–117d). The first two episodes appear on the same folio with the last two of Sylvester's legend; they are dedicated to Gregory's election as pope. First Gregory flees from the crowd who voted him in as pope, but miraculously his hiding place is revealed.²¹⁸ In the second image he is inaugurated and placed on the throne.²¹⁹

Several problems arise in identifying the next scenes in the cycle. The Morgan Library registered these scenes as part of the legend of St Melanius, who visited an ailing abbot then hit him in the head, causing devils to leave his body.²²⁰ However, Melanius does not appear in the *Golden Legend* and as far as we know the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* only contains saints found in this collection, with the exception of those with connections to Central Europe. This, however, is not the only reason the identification is probably incorrect. Even more important, the two figures in the scene are shown wearing a papal mitre;²²¹ Melanius was never a pope, and the other man is surely not an abbot. Levárdy correctly identifies the main figure as Gregory in his facsimile edition,²²² but he was unable to decipher the images on the page.²²³

In reality, the identification of the images is not particularly problematic. Scenes 2–4 of the page show the story of Gregory, who after his death appears three times before his stingy successor at a time of famine and pressures him to give alms; finally on the third occasion he strikes a deathly blow upon the undeserving pope, who shortly after dies amidst great pain. The second image thus shows Gregory rebuking his successor, the third the deathly blow, and finally the clerics discovering the body.²²⁴

The first image on the folio can be interpreted in this light. The *Golden Legend* describes how Gregory was generous in almsgiving, not only to those living in his vicinity, but also to those in need faraway. He had a list of the needy and provided for them bountifully.²²⁵ This picture, however, does not simply illustrate a passage from the legend – the act of almsgiving, lacking any epic quality, is not usually depicted. Rather the scene serves as an introduction to the story following, and derives its meaning from this: Gregory confronting his miserly successor appears here almost as his polar opposite.

The skilled composition of this page is noteworthy. The second and third images, placed diagonally from each other, are similar but their mirror compositions form one of the axes. While image II shows a quiet state of repose, image III has a decidedly animated composition. The organization of the fourth image repeats that of the third, but once again in a state of repose, although rejuvenated with new details (new players, devils, and bloodstains). The first three images are connected by the large red field indicating Gregory's cope, a motif paralleled in the attire of one of the minor characters in the last image.

If we compare the cycle with the iconographic tradition, we discover its unique focus.²²⁶ There are later examples of Gregory's flight from the papal election,²²⁷ his placement on the throne,²²⁸ and his almsgiving (although from his secular days).²²⁹ Analogies to the story of his miserly successor are not known. In contrast, more common scenes such as the "mass of St Gregory",²³⁰ or the type in which the dove, symbolizing the Holy Spirit, inspires the saint,²³¹ are completely absent from the codex.

The text of the *Golden Legend* is insufficient in explaining the unusual construction of this legend, since its primary interest is in emphasizing the virtues of the saint-pope – which is understandable given his role as confessor rather than martyr. His modesty, humility and selfless generosity are the objects of greatest attention,



Fig. 29. Life of Saint Gregory the Great, scenes III–VI, Morgan Library M.360.25 (L 117)

features difficult to express visually, although the first and third scenes of the cycles could be said to convey these. However, the omission of stories such as Gregory's prayer for Trajan's salvation or the pope's conflict with Emperor Mauritius is conspicuous – in other words, the cycle of Gregory exhibits no discernible interest in political questions. But there is a fair share of miraculous events in addition to the story of the illiberal pope.

If we look at the distribution of the pictures it is surprising that half the series is dedicated to just one story – if we add image III, which serves as an introduction to this story, then the imbalance is even more tangible. In order to depict this story in detail, the standard scenes closely linked to Gregory's personal life are dispensed with, including his divine inspiration, which would represent the Church Father's scholarly activities, though the fact that in the first scene he is shown with a book is possibly meant to substitute for this.²³² The burial scene that regularly recurs in the cycles is also omitted. The colorful, fable-like nature of the story and the message that Gregory's generosity is meant to underline could be offered as explanation. But it certainly appears important that a pope is presented in a negative role, in other words: a positive and a negative pope stand in contrast to each other. We can sum this up more generally: a pope unworthy of his office will receive his just punishment.

St Ambrose

At the beginning of the legend of **St Ambrose**, which consists of six scenes (L 118a – 119b), we find the story of the saint being attacked by bees as a baby, but he remains unharmed. The message is summarized by the father's statement: "If this child lives, something great will come of him."²³³ In the iconography of the "honey-lipped orator" this scene is relatively frequent.²³⁴

In the next picture we see the saint's consecration as bishop. The *Golden Legend* describes how Ambrose, like

Gregory, tried to escape the papal office. Examples of this also abound in the Italian tradition.²³⁵ While in other cycles the baptism scene that precedes the ordination of the bishop is generally included, here there is no reference to it here. The characteristic motif of the legend of Ambrose in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is the presence of soldiers; this distinguishes it from other similar scenes in the codex.²³⁶ The text of the legend offers no starting point as an explanation for this, but the progress of events offers several possibilities: the motif could refer to the power of Ambrose as judge, representing the emperor before his election as pope, or the emperor's consent. It could also have a contrary meaning: since the saint tried to escape several times, he was kept under arrest until his ordination.²³⁷

The third scene of the cycle shows Ambrose preaching. The scene is associated with the miraculous conversion of an Arian, but the author of the inscription misinterpreted this: he did not see the angel as a source of inspiration but rather the supporter of the fiery orator who appears to be losing his balance.²³⁸ This scene has no parallels in iconographic literature.

The last image on the page shows a soothsayer encouraged by Justina to murder the steadfast bishop, but his plot is miraculously revealed.²³⁹ The magician's occupation is expressed through his unusually shaped hat. The soldier shown on the left side of the picture and the distinguished gentleman in a cap suggest the high rank of the people in the background. This event is also generally not depicted, and the only example we have is of another similar intrigue.²⁴⁰

The fifth picture shows the story of the conceited landlord who has no fear of God and the bishop flees from him, sensing the coming tragedy.²⁴¹ The only (later) iconographic parallels come from the frescoes of Masolino.²⁴² In the pages of the codex we find Gerhard fleeing from his persecutors (L 112a), Bernard from the worldly sisters (L 142c), and Ladislav from the devil (L 134d). The

instructive case of the boastful landlord adds new feature to the portrait of the active bishop who at the same time travels through his diocese in the midst of danger.

The last image in the series shows the burial of Ambrose. Although the *Golden Legend* describes this, and even mentions the miraculous visions of the children in connection with it, the depiction bears no relation to the text. Instead the scene shows greater resemblance to the other burial scenes found in the codex.²⁴³ The bishop performing the ceremony is clearly his successor, Simplicianus, whose election Ambrose miraculously took part in. This other bishop, who was also canonized, is neither identified in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* nor in the *Golden Legend*. In the usual cycles of Ambrose, the death of the saint receives greater prominence over the burial scene.²⁴⁴

We should mention that the closest analogy to this series can be found in the frescoes of Masolino painted almost a century later in San Clemente, Rome. Their iconographic program was reconstructed by Lajos Vayer, who felt that the frescoes commissioned by Branda Castiglioni portray Ambrose as a great orator, popular bishop, active prelate, and scholarly Church Father, who ensured the legacy of the Church hierarchy.²⁴⁵ This content appears in the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* but with different emphasis.

This can be felt above all in the two scenes that appear to be iconographically unique. One shows Ambrose preaching; in addition to the miraculous features of the story, we see the great orator foretold by the miracle. We should recall that in the legend of Gerhard the preaching scene is one of the key points in terms of the program (L 111d). The image of the influential orator fits in well with the portraits of the active prelate and moreover the Church Father.

Perhaps the second image, which has no analogies within the codex itself, is the most significant. Its importance is apparent in the presentation of the prelate who

stands up to the ruler and faces an attempt to remove him by murder. In this respect Ambrose is related to Stanislaw and Thomas Becket, although he never achieves the palm of martyrdom. At the same time, the designers of the legendary's program could have found more illustrious examples in the characterization of Ambrose facing the ruler, since the story of Theodosius appears twice in the *Golden Legend*.²⁴⁶ Possibly, the motif of the intrigue hatched against the prelate is simply the essential element here, as we see in the legend of Jerome too.

St Augustine

The majority of depictions of **St Augustine** show him as a scholar or as an author, since most are found accompanying his works.²⁴⁷ Perhaps this explains why the iconography of Augustine appears more monotonous than that of others.

Moreover, researchers have generally chided other religious orders for their uncreative iconography in contrast to the Dominicans and the Franciscans. In the 1960s, however, Jeanne and Pierre Courcelle proved that the Augustinians had no reason for shame.²⁴⁸ The Courcelles examined eight cycles from the fourteenth century and thirteen from the fifteenth century. The first among these was the set of thirty-three stained glass medallions made for the Augustinian canons of Erfurt around 1312. As the first true cycle of Augustine, the assemblage of images seems random and not especially typical of Augustine. Later works, mostly Italian, reveal a more established tradition.²⁴⁹

The majority of scenes consist of the events in the life of Augustine: the beginning of the cycle is generally a series of conversion episodes based on the *Confessions*, followed by the activities of Augustine as bishop (arguing with heretics, writing the *Regula*, and contemplating the Trinity), and finally the scenes of burial and *translatio*. The posthumous miracles are generally not prominent.

In contrast the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is given a completely individual face. Of the six scenes, the first two deal with his career (L 119c-d): in the first he is writing a book in his study; in the second he has passed away and we see him lying in bed as a bishop reads the ceremony of the dead. The former signifies the status of the saint, as the majority of Augustine depictions do,²⁵⁰ while the latter is typical of the closing scenes of the legends. Only the legend of St Luke presents such a similarly condensed form.²⁵¹ Interestingly, Augustine, despite his mitre, does not appear in the usual vestments of a bishop, but rather in the simple garb of a monk. This may refer to biographical motifs, or the description in the legend: "His clothing, footwear, and vestments were neither too elegant nor too poor, but modest and suitable."²⁵² In the posthumous stories he appears in an ornate vespers cope decorated with stars.

Two-thirds of the legend, i.e. the next four images (L 120), contain posthumous miracles. In the first we see a boy with kidney problems cured, while his mother kneels on the left in prayer. The man in the middle, clearly his father, wears attire suggestive of one of high social status. The boy is just trying to escape from the table prepared for his operation. The half figure of Augustine appears, and makes a gesture of blessing with his right hand – his motion is actually directed at the kneeling mother rather than the boy, showing that he is responding to her supplication.²⁵³

The second picture is another healing scene: the ailing provost prays to Augustine from his bed. The half figure of the saint appears from behind the church, and blesses him. The provost, now cured, hurries to vespers, as the bell is already tolling – all this happens on eve of Augustine's feast.²⁵⁴

The legendary devotes two pictures to the third miracle. According to the *Golden Legend*, Augustine appears before a group of pilgrims consisting of diseased men. He encourages them to search for his grave in Pavia, and

once they find it they are indeed cured. In the picture, however, the group contains women and children and their illnesses are not obvious. Moreover they are not in pilgrim's attire, although this is a common motif in the codex; in other words in the legendary the story is represented in a more general context.²⁵⁵

These scenes appear in fourteenth century cycles too: the healing of the provost, the story of the pilgrims at the grave, and the healing of the boy in Fabriano – but these were all created at a later date than the legendary. The only earlier cycle, from Erfurt, just contains the healing of the provost, but in a different construction.²⁵⁶ Therefore, it seems the cycle of Augustine in the *Hungarian Anjou Legendary* was designed especially for the codex and iconographic tradition was not referred to – perhaps because at that time, no such tradition existed.²⁵⁷

In choosing the scenes for the cycle, the internal logic of the codex was relied on instead. The biography in the *Golden Legend* is long with few epic moments and is thus entirely omitted from the cycle. Instead the creators of the codex were satisfied with a portrait of the scholarly author and the usual burial scene. In the next images they concentrated on the thirteen posthumous miracles recounted in the appendix to the legend of Augustine. Of these miracles, five deal with healing, one with liberation from prison, one with the saint's triumphs over the devil, two demonstrate the respect accorded the saint, and four are devoted to his glory. Of these only the healing scenes can be found in the pages of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*: in this respect, the portrait of Augustine resembles that of other saints who excelled in healing and resurrection (mostly apostles and martyrs), and also sets him apart from the other confessors.

But Augustine's cycle also differs from the others in that two-thirds of it are devoted to posthumous miracles, which cannot be explained by neither the text of the *Golden Legend* nor iconographic tradition. Miracles performed after death are associated generally with saints



Fig. 30. Life of Saint Augustine, scenes III–VI, Hermitage 16931 (L 120)

connected to Hungary (Stanislaw, Dominic) or who have cult centers in Hungary (Demetrius, Emeric, Ladislav), or whose achievements in life are expanded with a few scenes of healing or intervention (Francis, St Louis of Toulouse, Mary Magdalene). In the case of the apostle St James the Greater, scenes of pilgrimages associated with his name are the starting point, in keeping with iconographic and textual tradition. With Augustine, the *post mortem* additions are probably meant to balance a life-story scant in miracles, although the last two scenes also convey the pilgrim motif. This miracle is so prominent, even appearing in two scenes at the tomb in Pavia because it marks the moment at which veneration of the saint in San Pietro in Ciel d'oro began. During the 1320s and 30s, the relics were the object of rivalry between Augustinian canons, who had been there since 1222, and Augustinian hermits, who had settled nearby in 1327.²⁵⁸ As the legend was produced during this period, this explains the inclusion of this event.

The legend of Augustine is therefore typical of the cycles of the Church Fathers in that almost no biographical information is provided, but it differs from them in the inclusion of miracles found in the appendix to the legend. The depiction of these miracles creates the image of a saint with successful curative powers, and his cult center in Italy takes on a prominent role in a way unique in this codex.

St Jerome

Like Augustine, **St Jerome** has a fundamentally “un-eventful” worldly career. In his cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (L 121), once again a classical author-portrait and the burial scene form the two pillars – but unlike the legend of Augustine, which has a series of posthumous miracles appended to it, here an unusual event – an ambush of enemies – appears within the frame of the two “pillar” scenes mentioned above.

In the first image in the cycle, Jerome is shown buried in work in his studiolo. The portrait of a classical author, a characteristic depiction of this saint, can be traced back to the origins of Jerome iconography.²⁵⁹ He is most often shown as the translator of the Bible and even more frequently as the author of its foreword.²⁶⁰ Jerome’s scholarly work is a recurring motif in the *Golden Legend* too: “He is totally absorbed in study, totally in books. He rests neither by day nor by night: he is always either reading or writing.”²⁶¹ These words quoted from Sulpicius Severus fit in well with the customary iconography, although no particular textual detail could be identified as the source for the depiction.

This image is similar to other portraits of scholars in the codex, except that here Jerome is shown with the hat of a cardinal. This clear anachronism began to spread in the early fourteenth century and relates to the search by members of the College of Cardinals for a model figure. Cardinals who have not achieved the rank of bishop began to have themselves portrayed as scholars. Jerome, the only one of the four Church Fathers who was never a bishop, only a priest, excited the interest of those cardinals who embraced him as a respected doctor, teacher and preacher.²⁶²

One location of the thriving cult of Jerome was Bologna where Giovanni d’Andrea (+1348), one proponent of the veneration of Jerome, worked. In ca. 1337–40 he wrote *Liber de laudibus s. Hieronymi*, which makes an explicit reference to the customary mode of depicting Jerome: “Dictavi formam, qua nunc in cathedra sedens pingitur cum capello quo nunc cardinalis utuntur, deposito, et leone mansueto.”²⁶³

In the first third of the fourteenth century the Dominicans also discovered Jerome as an exemplary representative of an earlier monastic form.²⁶⁴ Although an independent depiction of Jerome doing penitence in the desert is absent from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, there is possibly a reference to this in the burial scene. Unlike the

other burial scenes in the codex, this one appears outside, with two bare mountains in the background. This might also be related to a part of the text in which Jerome erects a tomb for himself at the mouth of a cave serving as the Lord's burial place.²⁶⁵ In any case, this is also a departure from iconographic tradition, which places the burial of Jerome in a built setting, in the interior of a church.²⁶⁶ In connection with this, we should mention that the Italian cult was inspired by the translation of his relics in 1285 to the basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore of Rome. Shortly thereafter in 1295 Boniface VIII elevated the feasts of the apostles, evangelists and Church Fathers to *duplex* rank. Clearly Jerome was an exceedingly "relevant" saint in the first decades of the fourteenth century.²⁶⁷

Despite all the heightened interest in Jerome at the time, his cycle seems to be infused with another, different message. The two scenes forming the central core of the cycle relate a rather unusual story: according to the legend, after the death of Pope Liberius Jerome was considered a likely candidate for the highest office, but his enemies (whose laxity of conduct Jerome had exposed) pulled a trick on him with woman's clothing and thereby made his election as pope impossible. When Jerome was awoken for matins he unwittingly donned the woman's clothing they had placed by his bed, and thus gained an unfavorable reputation.²⁶⁸ In the second image in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* we see the inauguration of a pope: a cardinal places the tiara on his head and blesses him, while behind him stands a bishop and other clerics. Clearly this is a depiction of intent, which the author of the *titulus* simply interpreted as a concluded papal election.²⁶⁹ In the next scene we see Jerome's shoulders draped in a pink, fur trimmed (although not a typically female) robe, but which is enough for the monks behind his back to whisper.

If we compare this cycle to the visual tradition, we can see that this scene, placed between the two most frequent images of Jerome, has hardly any parallels.²⁷⁰

The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* also does not include the other most common scenes besides the portrait of a scholar: the tamed lion or Jerome doing penitence in the desert. These scenes are among the most important in the *Golden Legend* along with details of Jerome's scholarly activities and additional praise for the saint. The image cycle of the codex also breaks with the tradition of earlier Bible manuscripts, which describe the origin of Vulgata.²⁷¹

Neither the visual tradition nor the peculiarities of the textual source explains why the trick played on Jerome was included. Even the need for a more colorful scene is an inadequate reason, since the story of the lion would have sufficed. Instead we have to assume that the trouble over the selection of a pontiff was extremely important to the designers of the codex, leading them to select it over other scenes. The information this scene provides is in harmony with the other messages about the nature of a bishop found in the codex and adds unique color to the cycle.

St Martin

St Martin is also found in the first group of confessors. Despite opinions to date, the primary reason Martin was included in the codex is not his origins in Pannonia, but rather his distinguished position among the saints.²⁷² He immediately follows the popes and the Church Fathers as the first non-martyred saint in the group of confessors. Currently four images are known from his cycle (Fig. 31), but it was certainly considerably longer.

In the first image we see the most commonly depicted scene in his legend: Martin meets with a shivering pauper, cuts his cloak in two, and gives half to the man. The inscription reads: *quomodo diuisit pallium pauperi* (how he shared his cloak with a pauper).²⁷³ In the continuation of the story it turns out that the poor man is actually Christ, although this is omitted in the *Golden Legend*,

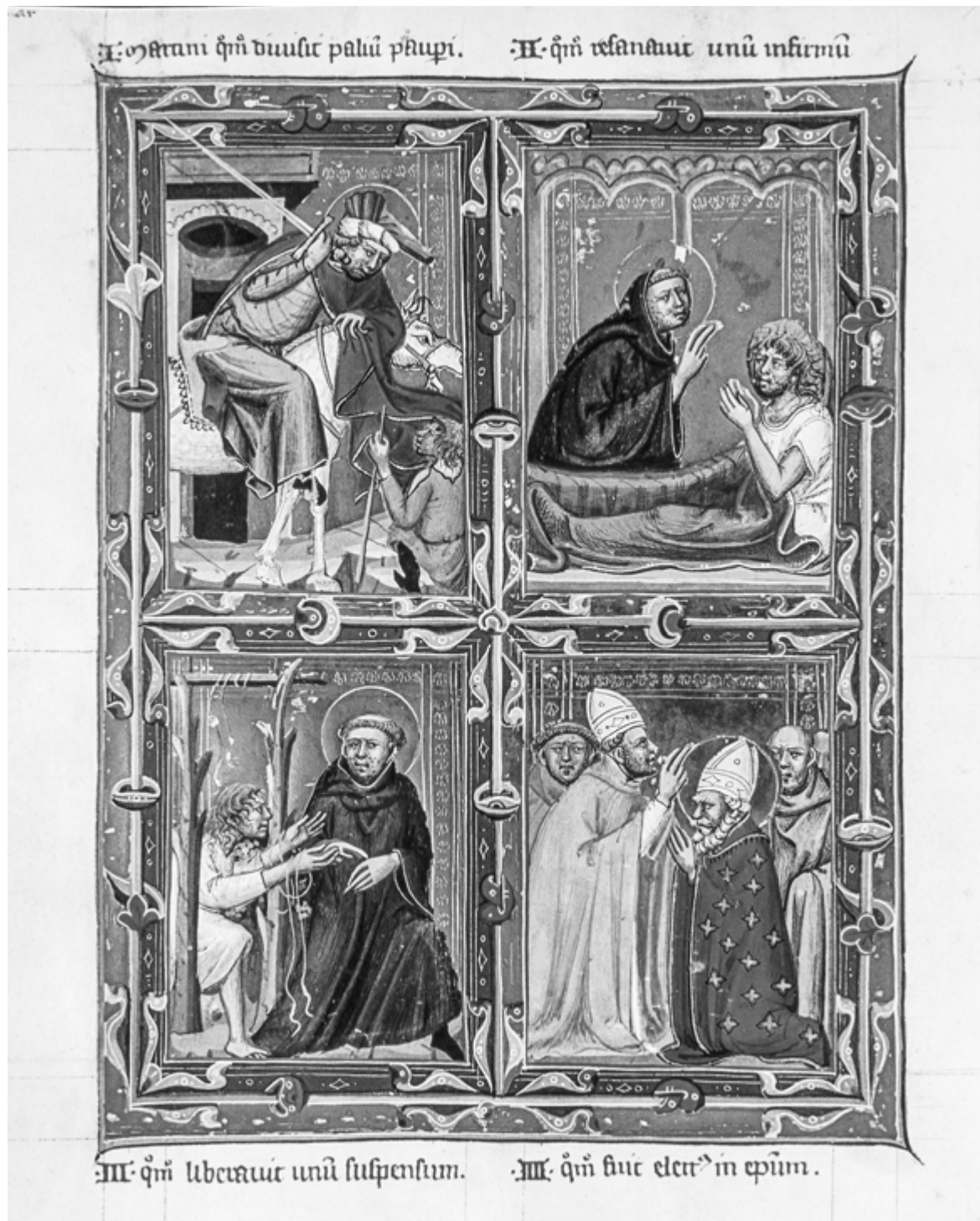


Fig. 31. Life of Saint Martin, scenes I–IV, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 77v (L 122)

and the depiction of the poor man in the legendary similarly makes no reference to this.²⁷⁴

In the next image we see Martin in the dress and with the tonsure of a monk: he is now living a monastic life. According to the inscription the image shows *quomodo resanavit unum infirmum* (how he cured a diseased man). According to the legend, however, this scene is not merely about healing: "Learning that blessed Hilary had returned from exile, Martin went to Poitiers and established a monastery near the city. In the monastery there was an unbaptized catechumen. Martin came back to the monastery after a short absence and found that the catechumen had died without baptism. He had the body brought to his cell and prostrated himself upon it, and recalled the man to life by prayer."²⁷⁵ The cell is clearly indicated in the picture, but we have no sense that the boy, with his hands clasped in prayer, has just been resurrected. In addition, the saint achieves the desired result not by lying prostrate on him, but by raising his right hand in blessing. In terms of composition and detail, the image fits in well with other frequent scenes of healing.²⁷⁶

In the third scene, Martin, still as a monk, leads a boy from the scaffold. Based on the inscription (*quomodo liberavit unum suspensum*) we can identify this small detail in the legend: "The saint also restored to life another man who would have been hanged."²⁷⁷ This motif is also common in the legends²⁷⁸ and its visual representations are analogous to scenes showing release from prison.²⁷⁹

In the fourth scene we see Martin with a graying beard being ordained as bishop. The text of the legend dwells at length on how miraculously the opponents to his election as bishop were silenced, although the ordination itself is recalled in one brief sentence.²⁸⁰ However, in the codex the ordination of bishops is a regularly recurring element, almost an attribute of the bishops, and is only omitted in exceptional cases.²⁸¹

Obviously, the cycle did not end at this point, and at least one more page was allotted to Martin. We can

conclude this not only because the written legend continues at length following this scene, but also because the last image in the cycle is usually marked with the word *ultima*, rather than the numbering of the image. In addition, the codicological observations discussed above have shown that the Vatican codex preserves the original arrangement of the quires; thus any gaps can be determined with great certainty.²⁸² The first page of Martin appears on the last page of a quire, and the next gathering is dedicated to Sts Emeric and Ladislav. St Stephen, however, would certainly not have been omitted, and the one surviving image from the legend of St Nicholas would have also belonged in this quire.²⁸³ Presumably the beginning of this lost quire contained the continuation of the cycle of St Martin.²⁸⁴ Perhaps we are not too optimistic in assuming that at least one more page from the cycle may resurface.

In the folios of the Vatican codex, an earlier seventeenth century numbering can be discerned beneath the present numbering²⁸⁵ – traces of a more complete state. At that time pages were already missing from the codex, including the pages cut up by Giovanni Battista Saluzzo in 1630 (and now in the Morgan Library in New York) along with another twenty-eight pages. But another sixteen pages now lost may have been present at that time.²⁸⁶ According to the old numbering system the page mentioned above was eighty-two, and the folio that presently follows it is eighty-five. Therefore in the seventeenth century there were two more pages from this quire, which must have contained the continuation of Martin's legend and the cycle of St Stephen. Since the majority of lost pages come from the middle of gatherings, we are justified in supposing that folios 83 and 84 were at the two ends of the signature – quires X (according to Levárdy IX) and XIII are examples of this. Thus the legend of Martin probably continued on page 83.

So far only those pages have resurfaced that were present when the codex was numbered in the seventeenth

century. Of these, ten are known; the most recent discovery is a page from the cycle of Francis (104 according to the old numbering system).²⁸⁷ This page, according to a 1913 catalogue, once belonged to the Léonce Rosenberg collection in Paris along with another page showing an unidentified bishop-saint.²⁸⁸ This page, which has since disappeared, was most certainly one of the six to eight lost folios.²⁸⁹ Among the saints with fragmentary cycles, only Martin and Louis of Toulouse were bishops, but Louis would have been easy to identify by his chasuble decorated with a lily and the Franciscan cowl he wore underneath.²⁹⁰

If we compare the description of the images to the texts of the legends we find that only Martin's legend is relatively compatible. The 1913 catalogue describes the page in question as follows:

72. Scenes from the life of a saint:

1. The saint preaches before children.
2. He exorcises a demon from a possessed man.
3. Three saints appear to him in a dream.
4. Turning halfway he passes in front of burning house.²⁹¹

In the legend of St Martin, we can read how the saint miraculously struggled with the flames of a house that caught fire when he set the temple on fire – this would fit with the description of image four in the catalogue.²⁹²

The legend also tells how “once, when he was sitting alone in his cell and Severus and Gallus, his disciples, were waiting outside, they were struck with wonder at hearing several voices speaking in the cell. Later they asked Martin about this, and he said: ‘I will tell you, but I ask you not to tell anyone else. Agnes, Thecla, and Mary came to talk with me.’ And it was not only on that day, but frequently, that, as he admitted, these saints came to visit him, and the apostles Peter and Paul often came as well.”²⁹³ This scene matches with the description for image three.

The legend of Martin is not lacking in exorcism scenes either: “Martin had a subtle sense for discerning demons. No matter what form, image or disguise they assumed, he saw them openly and uncovered.”²⁹⁴

The most problematic is the first scene, in which the saint supposedly preaches before children. No such reference can be found in the legend, but this is not necessarily a huge obstacle. The saint preaching is a common image in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, shown as a part of the bishops' duties. As we have previously seen, the preaching of St Ambrose leads to the conversion of an obstinate Arian, and a similar scene occurs in the cycle of the bishop St Gerhard which is difficult to link to a concrete text. As the audience is often composed of smaller sized people seated on the floor, it would not be difficult to interpret them as children.²⁹⁵ Moreover, a scene symbolizing St Martin's missionary work is easy to imagine in the cycle, especially since such an episode appears in the thirteenth century stained glass windows of Chartres Cathedral.²⁹⁶

Unfortunately this identification is not definitive, but if we accept the very probable hypothesis expounded above, then we have a cycle of eight images (although this is still not the complete work). Two of the eight emphasize his role as bishop (ordination and preaching), and five deal with miracles. Only one image is devoted to his charitable work, a scene indispensable in any cycle of Martin.

For historians, Martin is an early representative of Western monasticism and a key figure in the conversion of the countryside to Christianity.²⁹⁷ In addition, by the twelfth century he had evolved into the model for Christian chivalry, as is expressed later in the Assisi fresco cycle of Simone Martini.²⁹⁸ The most frequent scene in the iconography of Martin is the sharing of the cloak with the pauper: he is shown as the representative of compassion and brotherly love. Thus the emphasis in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* on his lawful and active fulfillment of his calling as bishop and also on his miraculous powers (resurrecting the dead, exorcising demons) is unusual.²⁹⁹

In part this reflects the image the legendary would like to project of the confessors, and also suggests something of the nature of bishops.

In the first group of confessors the Church Fathers are therefore the central figures. The portraits of Augustine and Jerome as classical authors emphasize their scholarly pursuits, while one scene each from the cycles of Gregory and Ambrose expresses their knowledge and skills in rhetoric. Companions to these can be found in images of Sylvester the debater and Martin the preacher. In their cases, however, these scenes are of secondary importance, as the figures of these saints are determined more strongly by their roles as prelates. Thus it is not clear whether the Church Fathers are meant to be seen primarily as scholars, since other motifs and their roles as church dignitaries also frequently appear to be more important. If Gregory and Ambrose are presented more as prelates, then Augustine stands out as a saint with miraculous, curative powers, like Martin. In the legend of Jerome one motif dominates: his lost opportunity to become pope because of the machinations of his enemies. This parallels a scene from Ambrose. Similarly emphasized is the unworthy successor, the unsuitable pope in the cycle of Gregory. In both the legends of Jerome and Gregory, the question revolves around the filling of the papal seat. Although church tradition and hierarchy elevates the Church Fathers into their own independent group, the program of the codex includes them in the first group of confessors, among the church dignitaries – and the motifs of their scholarly life only add color to the overall picture.

The second group of confessors: the Holy Kings of Hungary

According to the logic of the codex, the next group after the collection of popes, the Church Fathers and bishops is the Hungarian confessor saints. This group is also fragmented, since the legend of St Stephen was certainly

included in quire 17; however, it has disappeared almost without a trace. Afterwards Prince Emeric and King Ladislas come in the same gathering, which fortunately has survived perfectly intact. We do not know whether there was a quire completely lost between Ladislas and Benedict, but codicological examinations have found no evidence of this. Hagiographic arguments similarly offer no support for this, since other saints with a Hungarian connection were placed in different contexts.

The group of *sancti reges Hungariae*, as a hagiographic and iconographic unit, began to appear at the end of the thirteenth century (first on the diptych of Andrew III³⁰⁰), but only spread during the Anjou period when their cults began to flourish. All three saints (Ladislas, Emeric, and Stephen) were venerated in Várad (now Oradea in Romania), and Székesfehérvár, which strengthened this trend although no common feast day or liturgy developed. An important reference point is one of the Vászari codices (Bonifacius papa VIII. Liber Sextus Decretalium, Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare A. 24), which together with its companion volume can be dated with certainty to 1343. The miniature on the title page contains a depiction of this trio alongside four scenes of the life of King Stephen.³⁰¹ The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* so far is the only example of a cyclical depiction of the kings alongside each other. Only much later did Stephen and Emeric appear in two scenes each on the same monument, the high altar of Mateóc (now Matejovce, Slovakia). The lack of any other examples of their cycles appearing together is certainly no coincidence as they probably never existed. This is important to know when it comes to the program of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*: whether the makers of codex relied on an established iconographic tradition or whether they found themselves in uncharted waters is a crucial question.

All evidence suggests the latter is true. As we have seen with the legend of Gerhard, the makers of the codex were forced to improvise (at least in part) in devising the cycles for the saints linked to Hungary. In addition to the

absence of a visual tradition, which other saints lack too, here the textual sources are also a problem. We do not know for sure which version of the *Golden Legend* may have served as the raw material, but it seems it was an early example of the type expanded with Hungarian saints. With Gerhard, the textual variant cannot be determined for sure; the legend of Emeric we know today appears sufficient; but there is no single source that could be named in connection with the Ladislás-cycle.

The most problematic one is Stephen since we have no cycle to evaluate. However, it has been suggested that the images in the Vászari codex may give us an idea of the lost cycle.³⁰² On the title page we find four scenes from the beginning of his legend in a distribution similar to that in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. It is possible that the Vászari codex, made in Bologna in 1343, might have been painted using a similar prototype; at the same time, however the legend of Catherine in the other Vászari codex bears no resemblance to the legend appearing in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Of course, Catherine did not require any special model, so perhaps this has no bearing on our determination of the role of the first Vászari codex. It is also notable that the scenes of St Stephen are all from the early period of his life, indicating that when making the Vászari codex, the beginning of a more extensive cycle might have served as a model.³⁰³ This is in contrast to the cycle of Catherine in the other Vászari codex, which aims to give a full and rounded story in just four images. The large-scale composition and the dissimilar treatment of details in comparison to the picture types in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* can be explained by the different workshops. In any case, we can make more certain assertions if we turn our attention to the legend of Emeric.

St Emeric, the prince

The cycle of Prince Emeric (Figs. 32–33) deserves special attention because here we can best demonstrate how the

structuring of the images in *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* follows the text of the legend in close detail.³⁰⁴ In the first chapter we learn that in his childhood, Emeric frequently kept vigil, as was witnessed by his father (scene I);³⁰⁵ the second chapter shows how he miraculously recognized the virtues of the monks, and he honored Maurus especially with his kiss (scene II); in the third chapter (not depicted in legendary), his father is persuaded of their virtues too; the fourth part relates his oath of celibacy (scene III), and the fifth continues this theme showing how he keeps his oath even within marriage, which his wife reveals only after his death. The last two chapters, which corresponds to the second page of the legendary, recounts the events following the saint's death: the sixth tells us how St Eusebius observes Emeric's soul ascending to heaven (scene V), while the seventh describes the miracle that took place at the tomb of the saint: the pope has the sinning Conrad placed in shackles and orders him on a pilgrimage (image VI), St Stephen appears to Conrad in a dream and sends him to the tomb of Emeric (image VII), where the shackles fall off him (scene VIII). Afterwards, the text of the legend makes only brief mention of the canonization.³⁰⁶

In the case of Emeric, the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* can certainly be described as an illustration of the text. Even minute details such as the presence of two candles which Emeric prays before are included – although it is true that Stephen does not peer through a crack in the wall, but rather looks from behind a curtain in the image cycle. This curtain rather serves to characterize the interior. The only scene that has no textual source is the burial of the saint. But this is a common theme in the codex, and often occurs when there is no textual reference. Apparently in the legend of Emeric the burial signals that the saint has died.

The legend of Emeric was written about two hundred years before the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* was made, after 1110³⁰⁷ or in the middle of the twelfth century.³⁰⁸



Fig. 32. Life of Saint Emeric, scenes I–IV, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 78r (L 131)

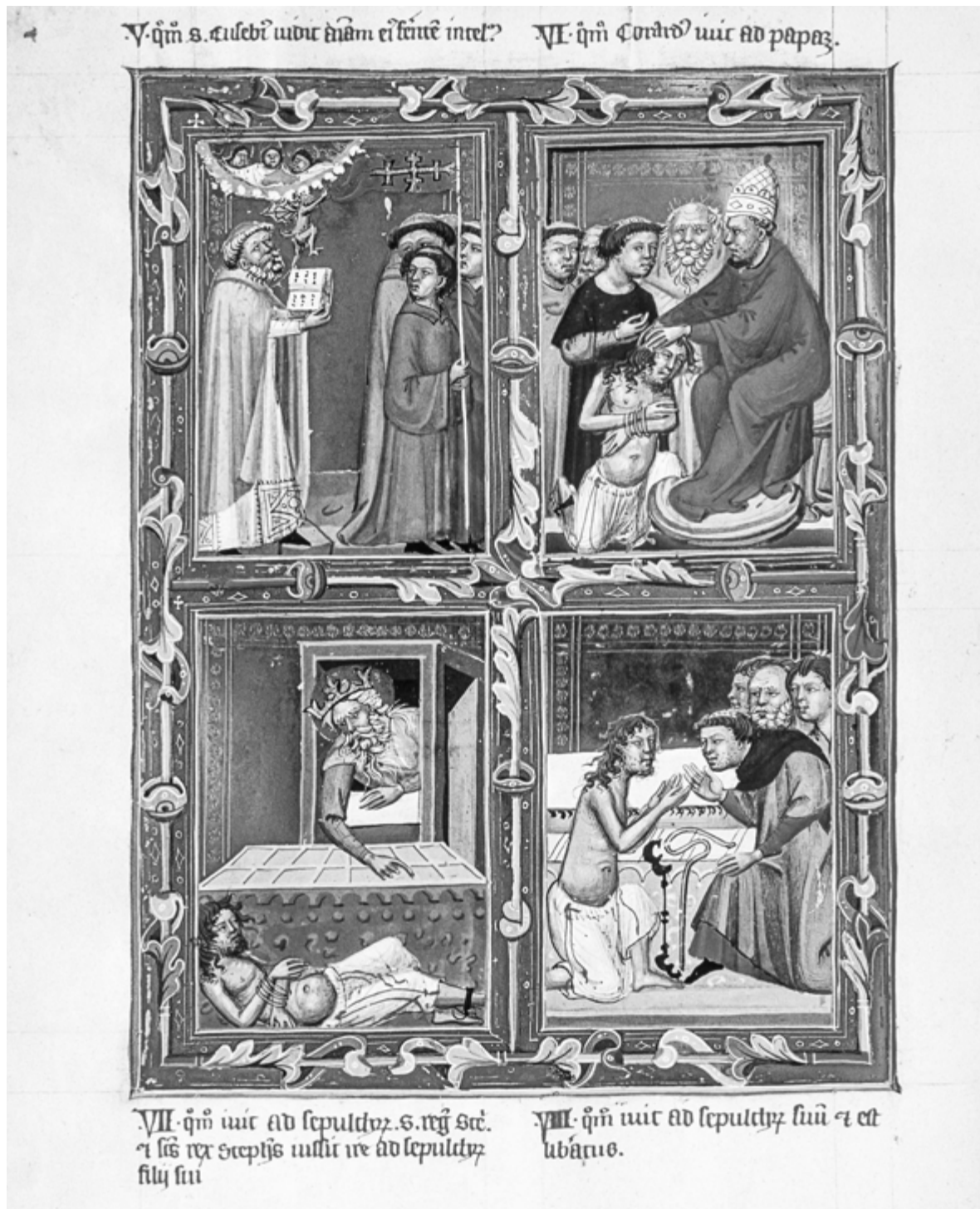


Fig. 33. Life of Saint Emeric, scenes V–VIII, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 79v (L 132)

Virginity is a crucial motif,³⁰⁹ since at the time celibacy had just been re-introduced (Synod of Esztergom, 1112).³¹⁰ Other saints of the period might also have served as examples, such as Emperor Henry II (canonized in 1147) or Alexis, who was quite popular in Central Europe in the twelfth century.³¹¹ The latter was furthermore included in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* and these two together represent a group of saints who lived in chaste marriages. There is no counterpoint to this in the codex, in contrast to the miniatures in the *Illuminated Chronicle* (*Képes Krónika*), which show the lucky arrival of the new heir to the throne.³¹² If the theme of celibacy (or at least the lack of emphasis on dynastic inheritance) is a deliberate feature of the program, then it is strange that the *titulus* to this scene fails to correctly inform us.³¹³

The motif of the soul being carried off, which is paired with an astonishing anachronism in the legend of Emeric, is a hagiographic stereotype; yet there are no other examples of this in the *Legendary* besides the Dormition of the Virgin.³¹⁴ The carrying off of Emeric's soul can also be seen on the high altar of Mateóc (an analogy to the composition showing Stephen's death).

Finally, we need to discuss the story that completely occupies the second page of the cycle. This is the only miracle in the cycle, and in the entire legend in fact; the main obstacle to the canonization process was probably the lack of miracles.³¹⁵ The forgiveness of sins appearing in fading script is not a rarity in the literature of legends. Similar miracles are found in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* in the legends of Giles (L 156b), James the Greater (L 56d–57a) and Mary Magdalene (L 169b). The visual solution however differs: in the cycle of Emeric the writing does not appear at all; all we see is the shackles falling off. Thus a visual stereotype was not deemed sufficient, and instead we have an individualized presentation of the miracle at the tomb in Székesfehérvár. This local feature is what appears most prominent in this cycle: in addition to meeting the need for

a miracle in the legend of Emeric, attention is drawn in to the cult center of this local saint. This aspect can also be found in the legends of other Hungarian-related saints.

St Ladislav, the king

The legend of **St Ladislav** has been among the most studied in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* ever since the first publication on the codex appeared.³¹⁶ This is not surprising since it is the most original cycle in the codex, and is of particular interest also because of the complicated question of sources.

At present no texts are known which entirely cover the images in the sequence, and some scenes have no known sources at all. We can best rely on the material from the Legend of St Ladislav and the *Illuminated Chronicle*,³¹⁷ but other texts should be included that may indirectly refer to lost sources. The practice of assembling events from a wide number of sources is not typical of the *legendary*; thus it is possible that a different version of the legend than the one known today may have appeared in the former Hungarian supplement to the *Golden Legend*.³¹⁸ The question is whether the variety of sources reflects only the present state, or the original situation. In other words: was a lost text followed with the same consistency as in the legend of St Emeric, or was a group of episodes specially assembled for the occasion? Although there is no final word on this question, an analysis of the program may shed some light on the problem.

The length of the legend of St Ladislav (24 images: L 133–137) is rivaled only by the most extensive cycles of the apostles (Peter: 22; Paul and John: 24 each), and stands out among the confessors, just as St James does among the apostles.³¹⁹ Ladislav, as a national saint and knight, was particularly venerated during the Angevin period.³²⁰ The question is what intentions guided the creators of the program in compiling this cycle.

At the beginning we see Ladislás as king: the most important scene defining his rank is his coronation. It is represented according to the usual image type for the ordination of a bishop wherein the king kneels before the bishop, receives a blessing and the crown is placed on his head just like the mitre on the head of a bishop. An important difference is the participation of laypeople of rank. It should be noted that this is in sharp contrast to the sources: “although he was crowned against his will by the Hungarians, he never put the crown on his head.”³²¹ Moreover, he “never tried to have himself anointed or crowned as king: having the royal insignia carried before him he assumed the responsibilities of king not because he wanted to be the first, but because he wanted to be useful.”³²² In contrast, the image cycle in the codex emphasizes the validation of his royal rank. Perhaps the two neighboring scenes, which are not derived from the written sources, are connected to the coronation. These images show the king parading into Székesfehérvár (L 133a) and a procession going on behind a bishop (L 133c).³²³ Both may reflect the balanced relationship of royal power proclaimed in the texts³²⁴ to the secular and religious spheres.

The next two images show the active ruler: with the help of God he is able to provide his troops with food³²⁵ and he triumphs over the Pechenegs. No known sources of the latter exist in this form, but Lukcsics is justified in suggesting that the siege of Nándorfehérvár (present day Belgrade, Serbia) may have been the inspiration, as there victory was also attributed to a fire.³²⁶ At that time Ladislás was only a prince, but he was not yet king when the *Cuman* captured the girl either.³²⁷ Even the inscription fits with Lukcsics’s theory, since the Pechenegs had laid siege on the city in order to stage their invasion of Hungary.³²⁸ Notably, the king himself does not actively participate in the events.

The next four images tell the story of the king who defeats an attacking devil while praying in the church

at night. While the earlier images show a ruler caring for the country, these pictures depict Ladislás as a saint possessing pious devotion and the powers of exorcism. Once again we have no textual sources, but perhaps comments about the king praying at length at night might have served as a starting point for this episode.³²⁹ Visually, the first and third scenes of the legend of St Emeric may have served as examples.

The largest unit in the cycle (consisting of six images) narrates the story of the Cuman kidnapping the girl. The chronicle of Henrik Mügel³³⁰ corresponds more closely to this part of the cycle than the *Illuminated Chronicle*,³³¹ and we should note that Bonfini also mentions a similar version.³³² This is especially true of scenes XII and XIII, in which the girl cuts the tendons of the Cuman and then strikes at his head. This cycle could not have been drawn from the fresco cycles which were fundamentally different and for the most part later. In contrast to the frescoes, the visual narrative of the codex is more sharply broken up into scenes and less consistent: the pursued Cuman in brown clothes is different from the one in grey dress who battles with the king or the one who suddenly appear in white at the moment of his defeat and beheading (these figures are very similar to the Cumans shown already dead in the preceding images). When the Cumans’s tendon is cut, the king is not yet wearing a red robe; we only find him in this attire in the next, compositionally related, beheading scene. Significantly, the story ends with a scene that has no iconographic parallel: the Virgin Mary tends to the wounds of the king.³³³ Thus, this rather secular³³⁴ series of images conforms smoothly to the legend of a saint, and appropriately the story continues with the *levitatio* scene.³³⁵

The last phase of the king’s life ends with the kiss of peace exchanged with the Czech king. His military role prominent up to this point, the saint-king now appears before us as a peacemaker, thereby highlighting another aspect of his rule.³³⁶

The cycle ends with his death, the transportation of his dead body and scenes of the miracle that occurred at his grave. The motif of the cart miraculously carrying off the relics recurs several times in the codex.³³⁷ The miracle continues as the cart is received by the procession of Várad. Unique to the codex is the depiction of both the death and the burial of a confessor.³³⁸ The next picture shows the people paying their respects at his grave,³³⁹ a scene also related to the burial. Only one analogy in terms of content exists in the codex: in the legend of St James, Queen Lupa renders homage at his grave.³⁴⁰ Finally, the miracle of the silver dish follows, presented in two scenes. The written legend mentions this miracle because of its unusual character.³⁴¹ In this respect the cycle of Emeric serves as an analogue.³⁴²

Thus we can see that not only do the sources used to identify individual scenes have different origins, but the program of the cycle is not unified. Clearly the codex uses a certain layer of the legend to create connections between Ladislás and other saints, especially James the Greater, Gerhard, Stanislaw and Emeric. Ladislás thus falls into the category of saints with “local interest.” These images show the saintliness of the king and the miraculous power of his relics. In addition some scenes are unique to the codex, mostly those associated with his rule. We do not know what portrait the legendary painted of St Stephen, and probably no other saint-kings appeared in the codex. Thus we have no comparative basis to decide whether the image presented of Ladislás represents a type of ideal ruler. But we can establish that the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* strives for a balanced depiction. Ladislás, as ruler, was suited to positions of both secular and religious might, and was both a heroic and miraculous guardian of those entrusted to him, as well as a politician who strove for peace. At the same time, he also lived up to the expectations placed upon a saint; in fact the miraculous powers of his relics elevated his grave at Várad to among the most important

pilgrimage places. Thus, similar to the legend of Emeric, the Ladislás cycle also shows that not only was space allotted to the common features within the *sancti reges Hungariae* group, but also to the specialties of the individual saints or the values they represent.

The third group of confessors: the monastic saints

The next group in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* after the canonized popes, Church Fathers, bishops and Hungarian kings consists of the founders of monastic orders: St Benedict of Nursia, St Anthony the Great, St Bernard of Clairvaux, St Dominic, and St Francis of Assisi. This group is supplemented with the newest Franciscan saint to be canonized: St Louis of Toulouse.

We might expect that the feature that joins these saints also appears most prominently in their legends: their monastic connections. Surprisingly though, the legendary contains no scenes of these saints founding an order or receiving permission from the pope. Even the particular features of each order fail to be presented as leading motifs. Instead the individual fate of each saint becomes the focus, while the taking of monastic oaths and the donning of robes (frequent images in the iconographic tradition) are consistently omitted.³⁴³ Moreover, no liturgical event signifies the saints’ status as monks, as the regularly recurring ordinations scenes do in the cycles of the bishops. The question is whether there is any feature in their legends that unifies the group, or is it only the traditional hierarchy that links them?

Compared to the groups thus far it is immediately apparent that these saints, whether belonging to monastic or mendicant orders, separated themselves from public life. They are not involved in any way in missionary work, religious debates or baptisms. The members of the preaching orders appear giving sermons only once, but none are seen performing the liturgy³⁴⁴ or studying theology.³⁴⁵

They are characterized far more by their virtuous life, and like the confessors in general, the monastic saints stand out in particular in this respect. Especially typical of this group is the self-mortification of the flesh, which is frequently associated with motifs of temptation. Another recurring motif is the performance of good deeds and attention to the afflicted, especially among the mendicants.

As with the apostles, the majority of the legends deal with miracles, but of a different type. Most frequently they rise above natural forces and the machinations of the devil, but they are not involved in healing or exorcisms. Typically visions play a frequent role in their legends. Bernard stands out for his repeated miraculous triumphs over those who oppose him on principle (L 142c, 143b).

Since they are not martyrs, the monastic saints suffer persecution only from the devil; scenes of arrest, interrogation and torture are absent from these cycles. The presentation of events related to their deaths deserves some attention. Surprisingly the burial of only one of the six saints is depicted, but in the case of four, death or the immediate precursor to it is represented. This is unusual, since in the other groups of confessors, death or a forewarning of it is rare.³⁴⁶ Relics were similarly of little interest to the designers of the program: we learn nothing of the *translatio* of the relics or any miracles associated with them. Instead the *post mortem* miracles gain prominence.

Thus, the group appears unified, just not in the way we would expect. Events of a similar type are selected for these legends, producing an internal relationship among the members of the group that perhaps binds them together more strongly than their obvious connections to religious orders. In fact, presenting the saints as either monks or as founders of an order may not even have been a goal of the codex. Certain fundamental aspects contribute to the shift in emphasis such as the absence of any passion scenes, which is understandable since miracles

played a more prominent role in ensuring their status as saints. Of the miracles depicted most are posthumous – in this way they are similar to Hungarian saints, who as historical figures never performed as many miracles in their lifetimes as the earlier saints did.

At the same time, their belonging to religious orders contributed to the development of certain features. In the legend of those saints who eschewed public life we can detect a certain (definitely older) concept of monasticism. Perhaps because of their role as saints, they are characterized by the virtuous life, especially asceticism and self-restraint (i.e. celibacy). St Anthony the Great is so deeply associated with his “temptations” he can hardly be separated from them. This is an important motif in the legend of St Paul the Hermit too, who is placed in the next group of confessors, but is similar to the other monastic saints in this respect. In the *Golden Legend*, another hermit, Jerome, who appears in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* as a Church Father, declares: “All the company I had was scorpions and wild beasts, yet at times I felt myself surrounded by clusters of pretty girls, and the fires of lust were lighted in my frozen body and moribund flesh.”³⁴⁷ It seems the motif of temptation is connected to the notion of the life of a hermit, and this projects into every form of monasticism.

It is obvious, however, that the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* contains no messages about the orders themselves that would shed light on the origins or function of the codex. At the same time, the deliberate obscurity of the cult center of the saints may reflect the target audience of the codex. In fact the designer of the program found the earthly remains of the monastic saints so unimportant that he omits any depiction of the customary burial. In this respect it is the Hungarian saints who represent the polar opposite. Such tendencies naturally manifest themselves differently in the cycles of different saints. Below, we will briefly discuss the legends of the various saints in order to reveal the nuances.

The legend of **St Benedict** (L 139–140b) consists of six images, which can be divided into two groups.³⁴⁸ The dominant events depicted are those we consider the most characteristic, such as the forms of asceticism and the various miracles.³⁴⁹ The first three images deal with the themes of self-restraint: in the first most frequently depicted scene,³⁵⁰ the saint lives in total seclusion; in the second he throws himself on a bush of thorns to fend off physical temptation; in the third the dance of seductive women sent by Florentius endangers the entire monastic community, and they are forced to flee. This last scene is meant to show the persecution of the saint,³⁵¹ but the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* purposely chose this episode over the more famous attempted poisoning, since the motif of temptation is more important in the codex than persecution. This is emphasized visually as well: the obdurate Florentius and the flight are not even shown.

The next three stories tell of the three different kinds of miracles. The first is the resurrection of a dead man; the second the miraculous knowledge of the saint (he warns the thieving servant of the snake hidden in the jug); and the third the triumph over the forces of nature. In the last case, however, it is actually Scholastica's triumph, as she summons a storm to prevent her brother from returning to the abbey. This is the only scene in which a saint suffers defeat: "he was faced with such a miracle, as was God's will, that had taken place because of the wishes of a virgin. But this should not cause astonishment that a virgin, who for so long wished to see her brother, proved stronger, since according to the words of John, *God is love* (Jn 4:16). It is quite fair that she should have been capable of more, because she loved better."³⁵² These three stories all demonstrate virtue. While the last shows the power of love, the other two bear witness to the saint's tact and noble spirit.

In the iconographic tradition, the first two scenes are more common, while fewer examples of scenes IV and VI

can be found, and scenes III and V are extremely rare.³⁵³ However, three stories are missing that generally appear in even the shortest cycles of St Benedict: the miracle of the broken sieve, the death scene and the demonstration of humility by the Ostrogoth King Totila.³⁵⁴ Although this cycle differs from the others in the omission of the death scene,³⁵⁵ the absence of political interest is consistent with the rest of the codex.

The cycle of **St Anthony the Great** (Fig. 34–L 141), like St Benedict, begins with the scene most typical of the saint. The history of St Athanasius presents him as a lofty soul who is strongly tempted by the devils, but heroically resists. It is thus not surprising that the notion we develop of this saint (and the one seen in both the iconographic tradition and the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*) is defined by his struggle with Satan.³⁵⁶

The images in the cycle of Anthony are organized in pairs. The temptation of St Anthony and the scene that follows in which Christ praises the heroically resistant saint create the first pair. The second pair consists of two visions that tell of the attacks of devils: in one the saint himself becomes the topic of debate between the devils and the angels. In the other, the angels bring the people's souls to heaven, while the devils hunt for the guilty ones – and so the struggle between man and Satan reaches its height. Finally in the last two images a miracle takes place in which Anthony participates only from a distance. In one the Arian chieftain persecutes the monks, and in the other the same chieftain dies a horrible death. Thus the struggle continues in the absence of Anthony, but the triumph over evil is assured.

We should note that this train of thought is completely original in the iconography of Anthony. The last story has no related images in Italy, and even scenes III and IV are extremely rare.³⁵⁷ It also differs from longer cycles in its omission of the saint's early life, his death, and his burial. The narrative episode of him visiting St Paul the hermit appears in the cycle of Paul in the *Hungarian*



Fig. 34. Life of Saint Benedict, scenes V–VI, and Saint Anthony the Great, scenes I–II, Hermitage 16934 (L 140)

Angevin Legendary. Clearly the available space was used for just one purpose: to better elaborate on the temptation scene of St Anthony, and present battlefields in the war with the devils. In the meantime another strange element becomes apparent: of the six images, four contain devils, while the saint is only depicted three times.

The order of **St Bernard** is famous for forbidding figural depictions in its churches, and this ban was maintained for a long time. This naturally explains why the most prominent member of the Cistercian order, who was even more greatly revered than the order's founder, was never depicted in an extensive cycle before the fifteenth century.³⁵⁸ Codex painting had a little more latitude, and by the end of the twelfth century we find a miniature showing the burial of Bernard.³⁵⁹ The best-known image cycle is an altar from Palma de Mallorca painted around 1290, but it shares no common points with the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. On the other hand, the first and only fourteenth century Italian cycle (the frescoes of Palombrana Sabina) is more relevant, as it shows the defeat of the prince of Aquitaine.³⁶⁰ The most popular scenes in the iconography of Bernard are his dream of Christ's birth, his leap into cold water, his writing in the rain, the *lactatio* (Mary moistens Bernard's lips with her milk) and the *amplexus* (the crucified Christ bows and embraces him).³⁶¹

Thus the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (L 142–143) also appears to be a unique creation.³⁶² The opening image in the cycle shows a vision Bernard had of the hour of Christ's birth when he was young.³⁶³ The next image presents two of the many temptation scenes in Bernard's legend: first he escapes physical arousal by plunging himself into cold water, then he calmly endures a naked woman lying in his bed.³⁶⁴ These motifs (visions, temptation) are familiar from the other cycles thus far. However, the series of successes used to disseminate his principles is new and unique to Bernard: first he convinces his too worldly sister to become a nun (III–IV),

and then William, the prince of Aquitaine, sees the light under the influence of the Eucharist (VI). In scene V a question is raised. Is it more important that Bernard continues to dictate his letter (asking a relative who foolishly went to Cluny to return) regardless of the situation, or that the monk writing down Bernard's words is miraculously untouched by the pouring rain? The Bernard cycle is also unique in that not only is the issuing of his last will and testament depicted, but also his burial.

Thus we can see that Bernard holds a special place among the monastic saints. At the same time, however, his cycle is in keeping with (mostly later) iconographic tradition. All the most popular image types appear in the codex except for the two that best express the saint's reverence for Mary and the worldly nature of Jesus.³⁶⁵ The theological works of Bernard clearly did not interest the designer of the visual program.

In the cycle of **St Dominic** (Figs. 35–36), as in St Bernard's, the life of the saint begins with a miracle. Here though, the child does not have a vision, but rather the mother dreams about a dog carrying a torch and at his baptism a shining star is seen on his forehead. The other, more famous, vision of Dominic's is shown in scene IV: the Virgin Mary prevents Christ from ending the world by presenting Dominic and Francis as His faithful servants. The significance of the image is clear: the two rival mendicant orders are equal. This notion is sometimes reinforced with an image of the two founders of the order embracing on the day after the vision.³⁶⁶

The other thread of the cycle is formed by the theme of asceticism. Starting in his youth Dominic began sleeping on the floor (II), and as a monk he spent the nights scourging himself (VI). In the latter, he shows himself a worthy companion of St Francis (Cf. L 149a, Fig. 41), and the compositional similarity of the related images from each cycle underlines this. Dominic's almsgiving is also closely linked to the altruistic gestures of the Franciscans (IV, cf. L 151a, L 148d, Figs. 37 and 40).



Fig. 35. Life of Saint Dominic, scenes I–IV, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 90v (L 144)



Fig. 36. Life of Saint Dominic, scenes IX–XII, Morgan Library M.360.26 (L 145)

At the end of the cycle, an angel announces Dominic's death³⁶⁷ and through the good offices of the saint two miracles occur. One takes place in Hungary: the woman's candles, which she intended for the saint, light on their own. This is not the only event in the cycle connected to Hungary; in fact, three of the ten posthumous miracles have a Hungarian link. The second miracle, and the last in this series, is the vision and conversion of the Bolognese student. We should note that the cycle of Dominic is rather fragmentary: a page is certainly missing from the quire, and we cannot determine based on codicology whether it is the last or the penultimate; all we know is that it certainly belonged to the cycle of Dominic.³⁶⁸ Given that the miracle of the Bolognese student is the last in the legend and that numerous events are narrated between Dominic's vision of the Virgin's intercession and his self-flagellation, most likely the missing page is the second in the cycle of Dominic.

Consequently any comparison with the iconographic tradition remains uncertain. The scenes appearing in the legendary are not drawn uniformly from the visual tradition. The vision of Mary's intercession is the most widespread image in the iconography of Dominic,³⁶⁹ and his mother's vision is also common. Scenes of his almsgiving and the announcement of his death are more rare, and images of asceticism and the posthumous miracles have no direct parallels.³⁷⁰ Interestingly, certain Bolognese elements, such as the burial, his grave, and the miracles occurring there are completely absent, and in their place we find posthumous miracles related to Hungary. Therefore the emphasis on certain features, such as asceticism and posthumous miracles, must have originated with the program of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. These are precisely the scenes that link the portrait of Dominic to those of the other founders of orders. The cycle of St Francis best illustrates the way in which the program of the codex was developed for the monastic saints. Before we discuss this question, however, we should briefly look at the cycle of another Franciscan saint.

The cycle of **St Louis of Toulouse** (Figs. 37–38) is problematic because we only have two of the presumed three folios. Folio 92r of the Vatican codex is probably the second in the cycle based on the numbering and codicological evidence. The question is whether the page in Berkeley is the first or third.³⁷¹

We come closer to solving the problem if we recognize that the second image on the Vatican page, scene VI according to the inscription, depicts the death of the saint.³⁷² The preceding picture portrays him treating twenty-five beggars to a meal, while the succeeding two images show a posthumous miracle regarding the woman who miscarries. The third and fourth images on the Berkeley page depict St Louis still alive, hugging a leper (who is actually Christ), and exorcising a devil that attacks him in the night with the help of the Virgin Mary. These scenes certainly suggest that this folio could have been the first in the cycle.

However, two miracles also appear on this page from the period after the saint's death. In the first image money appears from the stomach of a fish and in the second the saint resurrects a child. Thus, this page should come after the Vatican leaf. Furthermore, the image of the miraculous fish does not include the saint, which would make it a strange choice for the first picture in a cycle. At present, the problem appears unsolvable and only the resurfacing of the third page could help us definitively decide the order of the folios. Either way, it is clear that the cycle does not flow consistently.³⁷³

The disjointedness of the cycle presumably results from the lack of development of the saint's cult at the time the codex was made since Louis had only been canonized in 1317.³⁷⁴ The problem perhaps lay with the texts themselves; at any rate, we do not know of any one source that completely covers all eight scenes in the cycle.³⁷⁵ The iconographic tradition must have been even more vague, as we can find scarcely any examples in fourteenth-century Italian cycles.³⁷⁶



Fig. 37. Life of Saint Louis of Toulouse, scenes I–IV, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, BANC MS UCB 130: f1300: 37 (B)



Fig. 38. Life of Saint Louis of Toulouse, scenes V–VIII, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 92v (L 151)

The designer of the program of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* thus had a great deal of latitude. It is thus not surprising that the central points of interest in the legend of St Louis of Toulouse are charitable acts, the coming of death, and posthumous miracles, as was common in the other cycles. The exorcism of devils that attack at night is also compatible with this: clearly Louis also appears as an ideal monk who was tormented by temptation but heroically resisted. In addition, the monk consistently appears in a Franciscan habit, but also with mitre and chasuble decorated with lilies, lest his rank as bishop and his Angevin origins be forgotten. Nevertheless the dominant features in his legend are the same as in the cycles of the founders of monastic orders. In other words, the portrayal of St Louis of Toulouse was designed to conform to that of the other monastic saints.

We can see that the undeveloped state of both the sources and the visual tradition strongly left its mark on the legend of this Franciscan bishop. Similar problems can be observed in the image cycles of the founder of the Franciscan order too.

St Francis in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary

The cycle of St Francis in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (P, L 148–149 and NY) is among the longer of the cycles in the codex, and thanks to recent research all sixteen images of the legend are known.³⁷⁷ Veneration of the saint of Assisi was widespread by the first half of the fourteenth century; numerous depictions of his life crop up in thirteenth-fourteenth century Italy, as well as north of the Alps. The iconography of Francis is a well-researched area: basic studies on the Italian tradition were carried out by Henry Thode,³⁷⁸ and were elaborated on by George Kaftal,³⁷⁹ while the *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie* has one of the most comprehensive entries dedicated to the topic.³⁸⁰ More recently Chiara Frugoni has examined the pre-Giottoesque depictions of St Francis,

recognizing that these are often better preserved than the textual sources.³⁸¹ For the history of the early images the fundamental studies by Klaus Krüger, Ruth Wolff and Rosalind B. Brooke and the catalogue of William R. Cook are also indispensable.³⁸² The frescos of Assisi are constantly in the focus of current research³⁸³ while splendid exhibitions are dedicated to the saint worldwide.³⁸⁴

Until now, however, the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* has been largely overlooked by scholars of St Francis,³⁸⁵ even though his cycle contains six image types not found among the ninety-one scenes listed in the iconographic lexicon. Moreover, there are some images in the codex that have very few analogies elsewhere, including a special one that significantly modifies the interpretation of the scene it depicts.

The four folios of the cycle of St Francis

The cycle has a total of sixteen images on four leaves.³⁸⁶ The first page (Fig. 39) is preserved in the Louvre³⁸⁷ and the inscriptions and page numbering have not survived. The story begins with the scene of Francis and the leper. The saint, living a worldly life, meets a leper, approaches him and covers him with kisses; then the leper disappears.³⁸⁸ Although no sources mention this, the leper is clearly Christ, and the painter conveys this by showing the leper with a cross-shaped nimbus. The horse in the background as well as the spurs indicates that Francis came on horseback; this detail is not mentioned in the *Legenda aurea*, although it does appear in the second legend of Francis written by Thomas of Celano.³⁸⁹ Referring to this version, Bonaventure also includes the leper story in his *Legenda maior*.³⁹⁰ He adds that Francis gave money to the leper which is not depicted (this detail is omitted in the version of the *Legenda aurea*). The *Legend of the three companions* also gives an account, but here the leper does not disappear; thus the miraculous element of the story is lacking.³⁹¹ The leper scene is extraordinarily rare



Fig. 39. Life of Saint Francis of Assisi, scenes I–IV, Louvre RF 29940 (P)

in the visual tradition. Aside from a later fresco in the first cloister of S. Croce in Florence³⁹² known only from an Italian manuscript from around 1330-50 preserved in Madrid³⁹³ and a fifteenth century Umbrian copy found in Rome,³⁹⁴ no other examples are known. These works contain the larger legend written by Bonaventure, but as Bonaventure does not definitively identify the leper as Jesus, the images do not show the leper with a nimbus. The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* therefore goes further in its interpretation, and creates a visual analogy with one of the scenes in the cycle of St Louis of Toulouse in the same manuscript (Bc).

In the second image the saint, still in elegant white attire, kneels before the crucified Christ. At first glance this appears to be the story of the cross of San Damiano, which called upon Francis to restore the Church. The *Legenda aurea* also recounts this event immediately following the episode with the leper.³⁹⁵ Certain symbols in the image, however, suggest that a different story is being told. Christ's wounds are bleeding, giving the impression he is real and not a statue or painting. Even more convincing, the scene takes place outside, with no signs of a church. Thus what we have is most likely the story told in Bonaventure, which also follows right after the scene with the leper. Here Christ on the cross appears before Francis as he prays in solitude.³⁹⁶ Interestingly, the *Legend of the three companions* also mentions that Francis gladly entered a cave to pray by himself, but there is no mention of an apparition of Christ.³⁹⁷ In any case, the *Legenda aurea*, which tells the story of the cross of San Damiano immediately after the leper episode (as in the second legend by Thomas of Celano), cannot be the source; instead, it must be Bonaventure. Consequently, depictions of San Damiano in the visual tradition (such as the panels of Siena or Assisi) could not have been relied on either. The only miniatures illustrating this event as told in Bonaventure are from the manuscripts of this text kept Madrid and Rome and in a *Speculum humanae salvationis*

from Avignon ca. 1330. In the former, the saint kneels before the altar with a Crucifixion, in keeping with the iconography of the San Damiano scene,³⁹⁸ while the latter contains an additional St Francis cycle based on a *Legenda maior* manuscript. The *Speculum* from Avignon is closer to the image of the *Angevin Legendary*, since both of them are depicted in open air, though the diagonal position of the Crucifixion in the Hungarian copy has a more visionary character.³⁹⁹ The depiction in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is therefore faithful to the legend of Bonaventure, but clearly unaware of the version of the *Three companions*, which depicts Francis in a cave.

The interpretation of the third scene also presents problems. In this picture Francis takes off his white robe and hands it to one of those seated to the right, thus demonstrating the great generosity of the saint. This does not appear in the *Legenda aurea*; Bonaventure, on the other hand, provides a general remark that Francis gave his clothes to the poor.⁴⁰⁰ As an example of this, Bonaventure immediately follows this up with a description of the pilgrimage to Rome, in which Francis exchanges clothes with a beggar.⁴⁰¹ This story is also recounted in the *Legenda aurea*, Thomas of Celano and the *Three Companions*⁴⁰² and probably provides the basis for the image in the legendary. As further evidence of this, the closest analogy is the miniature in the Madrid manuscript, which appears next to the text quoted from Bonaventure.⁴⁰³ The Roman copy is especially important, because the appendix describes the subject matter of each image; thus there is no doubt that the scene is from the Roman pilgrimage.⁴⁰⁴ This scene is also depicted in the Corsini *Speculum* with a different composition.⁴⁰⁵ Besides these miniatures, this type is also very rare, and Kaftal only mentions a later example.⁴⁰⁶ In the scene in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, one of the figures sitting with its back half turned to us conspicuously has a nimbus. Because of the long hair, Gyöngyi Török has identified the person as St Claire.⁴⁰⁷ The Madrid miniature also shows a haloed figure sitting

among the beggars, but this person does not differ from his companions, and his hair is definitely short. In the Roman manuscript the haloed figure wears a chaperon and clearly male garments, identical with that of Francis. Thus, the three miniatures belong to those which depict the saint twice in the same image (see below the ninth miniature of our series): once giving his clothes to the poor and once more sitting among the beggars. The impressive architectural element in the background can be regarded as a reference to San Pietro in Rome.

In the last, fourth image on the page, Francis is kneeling naked while a man in red clothes and a chaperon attacks him with stones, and another figure beats him with a stick. In the upper right corner we can see the blessing gesture of the *Dextera Dei*. The figure in red can be identified with Francis's father who appears in a later picture (no. VI). The *Legenda aurea* briefly tells how Francis's father "had him bound and held in custody, whereupon he gave all his money to his father, and with it the clothes off his back; then he flew naked to the Lord."⁴⁰⁸ The image is of this first scene in the episode. The *Three companions* describe in a greater detail how Francis's relatives threw mud and stones at him, while his father had been beating him with his own hands.⁴⁰⁹ In addition, Bonaventure writes about the stoning and the abuse by his father.⁴¹⁰ Parallels to the stoning and the beating can be found in Northwest Italy,⁴¹¹ but the manuscripts from Madrid and Rome, which show each event in a separate miniature, are much closer.⁴¹² Interestingly the tools of abuse are exchanged in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. In contrast to the textual and visual analogies, here the father holds a stone and another figure a stick. Another strange feature is how Francis is already naked in this scene, although there is no basis for this in the texts or in the visual tradition.

The story continues in the fifth image on the second page, preserved in the Hermitage (Fig. 40), showing the naked and bound Francis being untied from the column by a woman in green with a white scarf, clearly the saint's

mother. This part is not mentioned in the *Legenda aurea*. The first legend by Thomas of Celano, however, makes reference to this scene in book I, chapter 6: Francis, held under house arrest, is released by his mother, while his father is away.⁴¹³ The *Legend of the three companions* (18) and the *Legenda maior* of Bonaventure (II. 3) both contain a similar account.⁴¹⁴ The scene was rarely depicted visually and the literature on the iconography of Francis only notes two examples. One is a panel painting from the third-quarter of the thirteenth century, preserved in the Bardi chapel of S. Croce in Florence.⁴¹⁵ The other, found in the cloister of the same friary, is a late fourteenth century fresco cycle and thus later than the codex.⁴¹⁶ In the panel painting, the father appears on the left and the mother, untying the white-clothed Francis from the column, on the right. The miniatures in the Bonaventure manuscripts from Madrid (fol. 8r) and Rome (fol. 13r) are similar. The image in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* differs only in the omission of the father: the legend is adhered to, but the father-son conflict is less visible. The portrayal of Francis naked is also strange. Although the painter provided clearly no more than what is supplied in the *Legenda aurea*, perhaps here the following line in this text had an impact: "Then he flew naked to the Lord."⁴¹⁷

At the same time this may relate to the sixth image too in which Francis, once again naked, kneels before the bishop with his father in red with a fur cap and another figure appearing in the background. With his right hand, the bishop blesses the haloed saint, who kneels before him with hands clasped imploringly. This is the scene in which Francis ends once and for all his relationship with his father and the world and is taken into the embrace of the Church, symbolized by the gesture of the bishop, who with his mantle represents this Holy institution. This is the most important turning point in the life of the saint, and one of the central elements of the legends and the image cycles. The first and second legends by Thomas of Celano and the greater legend by Bonaventure describe



Fig. 40. Life of Saint Francis of Assisi, scenes V–VIII, Hermitage 16932 (L 148)

this in detail, and the *Legenda aurea* also deals with it briefly.⁴¹⁸ The following thirteenth and fourteenth century image cycles should also be mentioned:⁴¹⁹ the panel painting discussed above in the Bardi chapel, a panel preserved in Siena,⁴²⁰ a cycle attributed to Giotto in the upper church of Assisi,⁴²¹ Giotto's fresco in the Bardi chapel in S. Croce,⁴²² the panel painting by Taddeo Gaddi from the sacristy of S. Croce,⁴²³ frescoes from S. Fermo⁴²⁴ and S. Anastasia⁴²⁵ in Verona, the panel painting of Paolo Veneziano⁴²⁶ and Zanino di Pietro's painting in Rieti.⁴²⁷ There are numerous later cycles too (Sassetta, Benozzo Gozzoli, Ghirlandaio⁴²⁸). On the panel in the Bardi Chapel the bishop is sitting, and on the *Trecento* frescoes he is standing; but otherwise the iconography is the same: the unclothed youth is covered by the bishop's cloak. Miniatures from Madrid (fol. 8v) Rome (fol. 13v) and Prague (fol. 7r) are similar to these. The image in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is an older style if we consider the seated figure of the bishop; on the other hand, the figure of the kneeling Francis represents a special solution.⁴²⁹ This is known so far only from another copy of the *Legenda maior* of Bonaventure dated to the late fourteenth century,⁴³⁰ though it should be noted that the gesture is different. While this later manuscript represents the bishop defending the kneeling Francis from his angry father, in our case the peaceful scene stresses the obedience of Francis accepting the ecclesiastic hierarchy. In this respect, this scene is a totally new interpretation of the event. Moreover, the book in the hand of the bishop is open while it is closed in the Bardi panel.

The seventh picture shows a less common scene. In the foreground Francis, again unclothed, lies in the snow. Behind him, two men armed with sticks, shields and helmets are visible. In the background, we can see jagged mountains. The legend appears to be the episode in which robbers in the forest attack Francis and push him into the snow. Thomas of Celano recounts this scene in detail⁴³¹ and Bonaventure also mentions it.⁴³² The

description in the *Legenda aurea* may also derive from this. The image in the legendary contains nothing more than what the text of the *Legenda aurea* reveals.⁴³³ Almost completely ignored in the visual tradition, this scene can be found in only one, unique example according to the entry in the *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*: a glass window from a Minorite church in Regensburg made after 1371.⁴³⁴ However, the writer of the lexicon entry associates the scene with Francis's imprisonment in Perugia. This must be a mistake because there is no hint of imprisonment or of any battles in the image; the saint is unarmed and faces his bludgeon-wielding enemies alone. The only difference in the images is that in the window Francis wears the clothes of the bourgeoisie, while in the codex he is naked. The miniatures from Madrid (fol. 9r) and Rome (fol. 14r) also show Francis dressed, while he wears a monk's habit in the Corsini *Speculum* (fol. 30v). The motif of nakedness is certainly worth some attention, since it now appears for the fourth time in the cycle and in only one case does it have a textual or visual source. Presumably the motif derives from the renunciation of all personal property; as Bonaventure writes: "thus remained behind the servant of the King naked, so that he may follow the naked, crucified Lord."⁴³⁵

As with the seventh image, the eighth is also problematic. The saint, dressed in white, uses a basin to wash the feet of a leper who has taken a seat in a building (marked with two large openings) along with three companions. The connection with the lepers also appears in the *Legenda aurea*,⁴³⁶ but there is no mention of washing feet. A more fitting text is found in the legend by Thomas of Celano and in Bonaventure's *Legenda maior*. According to these Francis spent some time with the lepers near Gubbio, serving them and washing their limbs.⁴³⁷ A visual analogy can be found in the panel in the Bardi Chapel mentioned above.⁴³⁸ In this painting, the robed saint holds a leper in his lap on one side, while on the other he washes the feet of the lepers in a basin. This

latter scene appears in the manuscripts from Madrid (fol. 9v) and Rome (fol. 14v). An analogy to this composition (and obviously to the whole story) is the scene in which Jesus washes the feet of the apostles. The miniature of the Corsini *Speculum* is different in attitude: there Francis cures the leper which is not mentioned by Bonaventure.⁴³⁹

On the next page (from the Vatican, Fig. 41), Francis appears twice in scene IX: removing his hood he flagellates himself and later he lies naked in the snow. According to the *titulus*: “quomodo ipse flagellat seipsum nudum et post hec posuit se in niuem magnam.” This story of Francis twice resisting bodily temptation appears in the legend by Thomas of Celano (II Cel 116–117),⁴⁴⁰ the major legend by Bonaventure (V.4) and in the *Legenda aurea* too.⁴⁴¹ The only parallels from the visual tradition are the manuscripts from Madrid and Rome, (divided into two scenes, fol. 23 v and 24r resp. fol. 29r and 29v). The miniature in the Corsini *Speculum* depicts only the second part and the emphasis is on the seven family members Francis forms of snow (fol. 23v).

Temptation by the devil is the subject of the next image as well. Scene X (“quomodo demones cruciabant ipsum”) shows devils attacking him in the home of Cardinal Leo. Descriptions of this can be found in the second legend by Thomas of Celano (II Cel 119–120), Bonaventure (VI. 10) and the *Legenda aurea*.⁴⁴² This episode is significant in the sources because although Francis is guiltless, he takes the beating as a warning that he should not stay in the home of the great dignitary. Naturally, this aspect cannot be discerned in the visual depiction in the codex. Visual analogies to the image can be found among the temptation scenes in the legend of St Anthony. No reference is made to this scene in the *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, and Kaftal only mentions a later work (Nave, Brescia, the fresco of Chiesa della Mitra, Maestro della Nave, end of the fifteenth century).⁴⁴³ In the Madrid codex, several images contain devils (fol. 33r,

52v), while fol. 38r of the Roman codex and fol. 27v in the Prague manuscript surely pertain to this event.

Scene XI shows the stigmatisation, which is explained with the words: “quomodo Christus apparuit sibi in forma Serafin.” This event has central importance in both the legends and the visual tradition.⁴⁴⁴ Thomas of Celano offers a version (I Cel 94–96, III Cel 4), and it appears in an elaborated form in Bonaventure (XIII 3) and more laconically in the *Legenda aurea*.⁴⁴⁵ Visual depictions also abound,⁴⁴⁶ since if only one scene was chosen from Francis’s life, generally it was this one.⁴⁴⁷ Naturally, one of the first visual representations of the saint on a reliquary from Limoges shows just this episode.⁴⁴⁸ It also appears often in thirteenth century panel paintings⁴⁴⁹ and *Trecento* fresco cycles.⁴⁵⁰ The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* follows the type developed by Giotto: Francis is kneeling and receiving the stigmata in the form of rays from the seraph which is identified with Christ. The rays connect the identical parts of the two bodies as appears in the fresco of the Bardi chapel in Florence (and Francis’ body is not a mirror as in the earlier versions).⁴⁵¹ In the image in the codex we see a chest-like box behind the saint, which appears old-fashioned: this is probably the altar also visible in the panel painting dated to the third-quarter of the thirteenth century in the cathedral of Orte.⁴⁵² This image is lacking in the Madrid codex, while the copy in Rome shows a mirror image of the composition and depicts a witness, evidently Brother Leo, to the event (fol. 74r). The Hungarian manuscript omits the witness (as the versions of Giotto in the Louvre and the Bardi chapel also do) and thus it is more laconic. It is in harmony with the *Legenda aurea*, however, we may note that its prototype, a variant of Giotto, is based on Bonaventure’s version. Jacobus de Voragine on the other hand in his more elaborated sermons emphasized rather the “vehement imagination” and other psychological factors.⁴⁵³

Scene XII is closely related to the previous image (“quomodo sanauit unum qui fuit fixus in gutture cum



Fig. 41. Life of Saint Francis of Assisi, scenes IX–XII, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 91r (L 149)

gladio"). The saint, whose stigmata are still clearly visible, turns with a gesture of blessing towards a young man kneeling before him with a sword driven through his throat. Another friar stands behind Francis. This miracle, in which the stigmata heal an innocent man wrongfully attacked, is presented as a proof for the stigmata in the sources (III Cel 11–13, *Legenda aurea*⁴⁵⁴). Interestingly, while Thomas of Celano refers to four miracles, the *Legenda aurea* mentions only two, and the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* depicts just one which has no close visual analogies. However, Kaftal connects the story of the youth of Lerida to the same source.⁴⁵⁵ This is depicted in the upper church of Assisi, the ceiling fresco of the chapter room of San Francesco in Bologna⁴⁵⁶ and the panel painting of Barnaba da Modena (Stockholm, O. Sirén collection). In both these frescoes, the saint heals the boy as he lies in bed. In other words, if it is the same story as we find in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, then the codex presents a completely different approach to it.

The cycle continues on the last page (now in New York, Fig. 42), with the scene of Francis preaching to the birds. This is among the most celebrated stories, and in fact we know of several occasions in which the saint deals with birds: sometimes he calms them down, sometimes he prays together with them and other times he speaks to them while they listen patiently, only departing when they have received permission. The *Legenda aurea* tells of three such incidences (in the swamps around Venice, in an undetermined location, and at the castle of Almarium); of these the middle one is the most closely related to the image in the codex.⁴⁵⁷ This scene appears quite frequently in cycles from Tuscany.⁴⁵⁸ Among the thirteenth century panel paintings, it also appears in Bonaventura Berlinghieri's Pescia altar, the panels from Orte⁴⁵⁹ and Siena, and the St Francis altar in the Bardi chapel. It can also be found in the fresco cycle of the upper church of Assisi and on the predella of Giotto's panel in the Louvre. At the same time, elsewhere in Italy,

this scene appears only in Zanino's winged altar in Rieti and in a fourteenth century Venetian panel painting now in Brno.⁴⁶⁰ It quickly appeared in manuscript illuminations too, with the oldest known depiction in Peter of Poitiers's codex of around 1244, *Compendium Veteris Testamenti*.⁴⁶¹ The episode is also portrayed in the *Graduale cisterciense* of Wonnental made in 1228–48⁴⁶² and in the Bonaventure manuscripts from Madrid (fol. 64r) and Rome (fol. 69r). A stained glass window from Königsfelden (ca. 1330) also shows Francis with the birds.⁴⁶³ In most cases the saint stands to the left opposite the listening birds, who sometimes appear in a more stiff arrangement (in the panel in the Bardi chapel, they are depicted in five rows, one above the other). Other times they are in a more relaxed composition; the image in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is of the latter type. Birds with long necks, as those in the codex, can be found in a much later (ca. 1400?) painting by Zanino in which smaller birds and cliffs overgrown with shrubs also appear. A special feature of the codex is the presence of beasts (lions? and a wolf-like animal) in addition to the birds.

The next image shows the saint on his deathbed. Here the stigmata are clearly visible (being examined for the first time) as the brothers surround the dead body and one raises his hand high in the air. Thomas of Celano describes the death of Francis several times (I Cel 110, II Cel 217, as does Bonaventure (XIV. 5–6). The *Legenda aurea* also mentions it briefly.⁴⁶⁴ His death and the (sometimes inseparable) burial scene are not rare in the visual tradition.⁴⁶⁵ The scene is often supplemented by a motif of angels taking his soul to heaven like in the manuscripts from Madrid (fol. 74v) and Rome (fol. 166v), although this element is absent from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Gyöngyi Török has suggested that the man raising his arm is in reference to this.⁴⁶⁶ However, given his downward glance at the displayed body, the gesture could rather be interpreted as a burst of emotion. The emotion can be connected to the discovery of the



Fig. 42. Life of Saint Francis of Assisi, scenes XIII–XVI, Metropolitan Museum 1994.516 (NY)

stigmata, as in the depiction in the Lower Church at Assisi and in the Corsini *Speculum* (fol. 29v). The Prague codex is more telling since Francis lies naked with enormously big stigmata (fol. 60v). Notably, in contrast to the usual iconography, the requisites of the burial ceremony are missing in this depiction in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* although they appear frequently in the burial scenes of other saints.

The last two scenes show two miracles following the death of Francis. In the first a woman sits in bed, with her hands raised in a gesture of prayer. Opposite, the figure of St Francis, motioning his hand in blessing, floats in the window. On the right side a similarly dressed woman (presumably the same one) kneels in prayer before a man in a grey robe who blesses her. Gyöngyi Török identifies this scene as the resurrection of the girl from Pomereto, since she considers the figures on the right to be her parents.⁴⁶⁷ The legends tell of numerous similar miracles associated with St Francis (III Cel 40–48, Bonaventure, *De miraculis*, chapter II⁴⁶⁸). However, the story of the woman of Monte Merano fits the picture best; this is the first of the miracles and it has a visual tradition. According to the story the woman dies without confessing, but Francis soon resurrects her, so that she can confess.⁴⁶⁹ This episode appears in the *Legenda aurea* too,⁴⁷⁰ as well as in the frescoes of the upper church of Assisi: the woman sits in bed and confesses in the ear of a friar.⁴⁷¹ This episode in the Bonaventure manuscript in Rome was similarly illustrated (fol. 88r), which adds weight to the argument.

In the last image, St Francis leads a man in white clothes from a building. In similar scenes in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* this usually symbolizes liberation from prison. Thomas of Celano describes stories of liberation at length (III Cel 88–94), while the *Legenda aurea* tells of just one incident in the legend of Francis of a poor man freed in this way.⁴⁷² The similar scene in the fresco in Assisi⁴⁷³ shows the release of Peter of Alifia, who was sent to prison as a heretic (III Cel 93, Bonaventure, *De*

miraculis V § 4;⁴⁷⁴ the scene does not appear in the *Legenda aurea*). The Bonaventure manuscript in Rome has a similar composition appended to the first miraculous liberation from prison (fol. 96r, *De miraculis* V § I, cf. III Cel 88⁴⁷⁵), but this scene could fit with any event of this type. The image in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* lacks any distinct character and therefore could have used both the text of the *Legenda aurea* and the visual tradition as sources, as both are in any case rather general (although the dress of the liberated is not especially poor). The liberation itself is the crucial point, as in similar miracles in the legendary. Comparable composition was applied at the end of the Prague manuscript where a local miracle, the freeing of Jan z Vinařic is depicted (79r).

St Francis appears in one more scene in the pages of *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, in the story of St Dominic. Here we see the famous vision in which the Virgin Mary refers to Francis and Dominic in order to protect the earth from the wrath of God (Fig. 35).

The textual tradition: the Hungarian Angevin Legendary's place in the history of the sources

If we survey all the surviving scenes from the legendary's cycle of Francis, we find that each one had a textual source. But unlike the majority of the cycles in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, the cycle of Francis does not rely primarily on just one (see Appendix A, Table 24). Almost every scene can be found in the legends by Thomas of Celano, but in different ones written by him: the *First life of St Francis* does not contain scenes I–III, IX–X, XII, and XV–XVI; the *Second life of St Francis* provides a basis for scenes I, maybe III, IX and X, but not II, IV–V, VII–VIII, XII–XIII and XVI. Scenes XII and XV–XVI (the miracle of the three brothers) are found only in the *Miracles of St Francis* [*De miraculis*], which naturally contains just the miracles and the stigmata (XI). Only scene

II has no source in Celano's work. The greater legend of Bonaventure with the *De miraculis* collection covers the events in the cycle much more uniformly. Only the description of scene XII is problematic and the second episode is closest to this text. Most of the scenes can be found in the *Legenda aurea* except for the vision of the crucifix and the washing of the feet (scenes II and VIII, although similar events are mentioned) while the liberation from prison appears, but is not elaborated on. In these scenes, the miniaturist shows he knew more than what had been revealed not only in the collection of Jacobus de Voragine, but also in Bonaventure's text. There are two possibilities to explain this: either the creators of the codex used an unknown source or looked for sources beyond textual accounts. Levárdy argued that the *Legenda aurea* was not used for this cycle and that we must assume another source unknown today. If this were true, the significance of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* would grow considerably in the field of St Francis hagiography.

Some additional background information on the sources may help to shed light on this problem. The origins of hagiographic literature on St Francis⁴⁷⁶ date back to July 16 1228 when he was canonized and Pope Gregory IX asked (on that same day) Thomas of Celano to write the saint's biography. This so-called *First life of St Francis* was completed in 1228–1229. In time it was noticed that several events known about and passed on orally by members of the order were missing; in addition new miracles needed to be recorded. Therefore in 1244 the Chapter of Genoa called upon the members of the order to write down their recollections and send them to Crescentius of Jesi, the Minister General of the Franciscan Order. The letter of Leo, Angelus, and Rufinus arrived in response, and the manuscript tradition has always transmitted this directly before the *Legend of the three companions*. In fact the relationship between the two texts is one of the most debated in Franciscan literature. The material received in this fashion was arranged by Thomas of

Celano and put into its final form as the *Second life of St Francis* (1246–47). Celano also wrote another work on the miracles of St Francis (1250–53), and he is possibly the author of the version for liturgical use.⁴⁷⁷ Within the order, the legacy of St Francis was interpreted in different ways in the middle of the thirteenth century, leading to heated debates. Bonaventure's *Legenda maior*, written in 1260–63, suggested the formation of a new, more balanced view of Francis. In order to avoid further complications this was accepted as the official legend, and in 1266 the General Chapter in Paris sent orders that all earlier versions should be destroyed, including the writings of Thomas of Celano. This decree must have led to the destruction of a great many documents in the literature on St Francis: only a few manuscripts survive of some works, while others were probably lost completely.⁴⁷⁸

The *Legenda aurea* was created around this time. Jacobus de Voragine probably relied on the text of Bonaventure,⁴⁷⁹ but he may have used other sources too, as suggested by the placement of the Roman pilgrimage in the sequence of events (which bears closer similarities to the second legend of Thomas of Celano).

By the time the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* was made in the 1330s the situation had changed. The disputes over the various writings had been settled, and the image of Francis presented by Bonaventure had become generally accepted and became the basis for new collections.⁴⁸⁰ Let us return to our question now: did the designers of the program of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* use a source that has since disappeared?⁴⁸¹

The order of the scenes is important with respect to this question (cf. Appendix A, Table 24). The legends by Thomas of Celano only partially account for the material in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*: the sequence of events in scenes IV through VIII matches with parts 12–17 of the first legend, while scenes IX–X correspond to parts 116–120 of his second legend; but the remaining scenes have no systematic correlation with events in

Celano's legends. In Bonaventure's *Legenda maior*, the first eight scenes appear in the same order as in the codex (I/5-6 and II/2-6). This proves especially important in the case of the third image, since all other sources place the journey to Rome before the encounter with the leper. After this, the similarities end and we find large discrepancies between Bonaventure's text and the codex. In fact the last five images in the illustrated legendary appear in a completely different sequence. The parallels with the *Legenda aurea* are more consistent and even scene XII is narrated in the same sequence. Of the other sources, only the third work by Thomas of Celano mentions this episode, but this is accompanied by a different set of miracles proving the stigmata. The miracles selected by the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* are similar to those in the *Legenda aurea*. Thus it seems that for the first half (the early life of the saint, still represented in secular habit) Bonaventure fits better, while the closest source to the second part is the *Legenda aurea*, which is usual for the entire codex. We might suppose that there existed a separate text which combined the events according to this scheme, though this version would not add too much to our previous knowledge since it would simply mirror two well-known canonical versions. Thus, it is unnecessary to presume a non-existent source, since the text of Bonaventure corresponds so well to the first half of the cycle, and the *Legenda aurea* is sufficient to explain the second half. Perhaps the first half of the *Legenda aurea* was enriched with elements from the text of Bonaventure, or more likely the visual tradition was relied on, inspired by Bonaventure's text. An even more probable explanation for any differences is that perhaps the artists of the codex did not use the texts as a direct source, but rather selected among the existing models when developing the images. The discrepancies between the codex and the sources may derive in part from the nature of the program.

The visual tradition: the Hungarian Angevin Legendary's place in the iconography of St Francis

The panel painting in the Bardi chapel is among the most extensive of the thirteenth century cycles of St Francis. The sequence of scenes surrounds the central figure of the saint, a common feature in *Duecento* narrative panel paintings. Of the twenty scenes, six can also be found in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. The shorter series, generally consisting of four to six scenes, concentrate more on the posthumous miracles,⁴⁸² with only the stigmata and the sermon to the birds appearing from the earthly life of the saint.⁴⁸³ In the painting at Orte, the balance shifts toward this earthly life; two of the scenes above depicted along with the transformation of the capon leg into a fish, and just one *post mortem* healing). In the panel painting in Siena, the life of the saint is indisputably the focus.⁴⁸⁴

Trecento cycles present a more uniform treatment of life of the saint and the posthumous miracles fall to the background. Of the twenty-eight scenes in the upper church of Assisi, six appear in the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, while only three of the seven frescoes from the Bardi chapel have a parallel in the codex. The acknowledgement of the *regula*, the sermon to the Sultan, the visitation in Arles, and the witnesses to the elevation of his soul are all omitted. Not all the scenes from the Giotto painting in the Louvre are included in the codex either – once again the two related to the acknowledgment of the *regula* are left out. In addition, only three of the thirteen paintings by Taddeo Gaddi correspond to images in the legendary. The same patterns of omission can be found between the codex and the written sources too.

The only comparable cycle to that in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is from the largely contemporary manuscript housed in Madrid (and its fifteenth century copy in Rome). There are many differences between

the individual scenes, but because the ca. 180 miniatures in the codex strive to illustrate the greater legend of Bonaventure almost in its entirety, the overlaps are inevitable. Even like this we do not find analogues to every scene. The Hungarian codex is the result of intensive selection, requiring a concept just as a new cycle would. The connection between the two codices is thus not concrete, but it does point to a common manuscript tradition; the later Bonaventure codex in Rome gives also evidence of this tradition. Another comparable tradition is represented by the works of a workshop active in Avignon in the 1330s, illuminating a *Legenda maior* manuscript kept in Prague with some fifty miniatures⁴⁸⁵ and the Corsini *Speculum humanae salvationis* which adds 49 scenes from the life of St Francis to the Biblical part. A less abundantly illustrated *Legenda maior* manuscript from the late fourteenth century contains 17 miniatures, which is comparable to our version in quantity;⁴⁸⁶ however, the selection is quite different which makes clear that we have to suppose different illustration traditions even in the group of the Bonaventure manuscripts.

In summary, the construction of the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is characteristically different from that in the *Duecento* and *Trecento* image series. There is a freer selection of scenes and independent iconographic types are created or earlier ones modified. Moreover, the scheme of the entire cycle is original – it represents an independent type and not a variation of the Italian cycles. The context of this series can only be understood by examining the cycle's place within the codex as a whole.

The visual system of the codex: the place of the cycle of St Francis in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary

The structure of the Francis cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* consists of two parts. On the first two pages Francis is seen either in secular clothes or naked,

with long hair, while the other two folios show him with tonsure and monastic garb. The first scene is related to the similar story of St Louis of Toulouse (Bc). In both cases the saint embraces the leper who is identified by the miniator as Christ representing him with a cross-shaped nimbus. The second is an adoration type, and is closely related to the prayer of the apostle St Andrew to the Holy Cross (L 40a), the saint kneeling on the left and the cross appearing on the right. In the third scene Francis gives alms, as can be seen in the cycles of St Gregory the Great, Alexis and especially the founder of the other mendicant order, St Dominic (L 117a [Fig. 29], L 144c [Fig. 35], L 157b). Dominic, as well as Francis, stands on the left and gives his donation to the poor depicted as smaller figures. The abuse by his father and the binding to the column are similar to events in other passion stories, and the latter recalls the composition of the flagellation of Christ. The story of the robbers can also be linked to scenes showing the defenselessness and suffering of the saints. Francis kneeling before the bishop is unique, but the visual analogues of this in the codex are Donatus kneeling before a monk (L 104d), Christopher before a hermit (Fig. 21), and a youth before the bishop (L 44a) in the story of John the apostle. As we have seen, love shown to lepers also occurs in the cycle of St Louis of Toulouse. This scene illustrating compassion is typical of Franciscan saints and at the same time recalls the washing of the feet in the cycle of Jesus (Fig. 4).

The second half of the cycle is constructed of image pairs. The main element of scenes IX–X is the devil's temptation. Such scenes are specific to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* and are either absent or a rare occurrence in other series. The other two scenes on the same page depict the stigmata and a miracle that proves it. An image of the stigmata is indispensable in a cycle of Francis, and it has no parallels in the codex. Its companion fits better among the scenes of miraculous healing. Therefore, it is not surprising that the corresponding miracle scene in the Assisi frescoes (assuming there is any

point in making such a connection) appears at the end of the cycle, among the saint's other *post mortem* miracles.

On the fourth page the sermon to the birds and the death scene are among the ones most frequently depicted. The death scene is of course very frequent in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*: the depiction is similar here to burial scenes although there is no sign of a death liturgy being performed. Generally death and burial scenes are difficult to separate in the cycles of St Francis.

While the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* contains scenes typical of Francis cycles, there are also a significant number of special features present here. We find fewer episodes from the early life of the saint than in *Trecento* cycles and even in the *Legenda aurea*. Scenes showing the foundation of the order are strikingly absent (neither the confirmation of the *regula* nor the papal visit appear) and the famous visions of the friars do not appear. Furthermore, there are no scenes of preaching (which is true of the other mendicant saints too: Dominic, Peter Martyr and Louis of Toulouse) except for the preaching to the birds, but this scene expresses a different meaning.

The cycle ends with two posthumous scenes: miracles of resurrection and liberation from prison – these *post mortem* events recur regularly in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Interestingly, these two miracles are not generally found in thirteenth century panel paintings, but they can be traced instead to the fresco cycle in Assisi although their role is smaller here. It is not clear whether this connection can be attributed to the influence of the central cult place of Francis – the composition and stylistic features of the images certainly do not support this. It is more probable that the source is the *Legenda aurea*: nine miracles are mentioned following the death of the saint, and of these the first and third can be identified in the images in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Interestingly, the manuscript of Prague also ends with two similarly depicted scenes, although they represent local miracles (fols. 68 v and 77r).

The frequent appearance of Francis naked is peculiar to the legendary. In scenes IV–VII he is shown only in this way. As we have suggested, this might refer to his lack of possessions, his voluntary poverty, and humility. On the other hand, one can note the lack of representation of Francis' almsgiving to the leper and to the poor people.⁴⁸⁷ However, attempting to glean from this a particular point of view in the debates on poverty within the order would be too far-fetched. The designer of the cycle of St Francis was probably not a Franciscan. This is most abundantly clear in the sixth scene in which he breaks with his father and the bishop makes a gesture of acceptance. As we have already pointed out, instead of standing as would be expected, Francis kneels before the Church dignitary in a completely singular fashion. Earlier we noted that the cycles of the mendicant saints do not include any scenes of preaching or episodes related to their monastic order. We can only assume that the designer of the cycles was more preoccupied with the worldly hierarchy and the perspective of the bishops.

We have also already mentioned that one of the scenes, the self-mortification of Francis, is almost unique in the iconography of the saint, although we can find parallels in the cycles of other saints in the codex. The only other scene of actual self-flagellation the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is associated with St Dominic (Fig. 36). Other saints used other measures – generally in order to overcome temptation: St Benedict jumps into a thorn bush (L 139b), while St Bernard, in order to suppress his feelings of arousal, plunges himself in ice water (L 142b). The motif of bodily temptation occurs in the story of St Paul the Hermit too as one of the factors that inspired him to live in seclusion (L 161a). A famous temptation scene can also be found in the cycle of St Anthony the Great (Fig. 34), in which devils bludgeon the saint. The closest parallel to this is in scene X of the cycle of St Francis. In the figures of Benedict, Anthony, Bernard and Dominic we find a circle of founders

of religious orders. In order to fit Francis into this group, the designers of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* selected rare, even unprecedented, scenes from his life. It is strange, however, that the images used to unite these saints do not show the orders being established, but rather contain recurring motifs such as bodily temptation and the devil's mockery.

According to Gerlach van 's-Hertogenbosch, the author of the entry in the *Lexikon der christlichen Ikonographie*, the cycles of St Francis (unlike those of other saints) are not a part of the manuscript tradition and are better represented by other art forms. The reason given is that codex illumination did not flourish among the Franciscans as it did among other classical monastic orders.⁴⁸⁸ However, some of the manuscripts containing the *Legenda maior* of Bonaventure were decorated with extensive cycles: we have seen the manuscript preserved in Prague (and the Corsini *Speculum* related to it), and of course we have the manuscripts from Madrid and Rome. In addition to these (and certainly other, less known examples), the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* contains one of the richest cycles of St Francis (especially in terms of the quality of execution) found in manuscript painting, and is remarkable even within the art form. The uniqueness of this cycle lies in its distinct outside perspective on the *Poverello* and his order, in contrast to the other cycles largely created from within the Franciscan community.

The fourth group of confessors

The last group of confessors is composed of saints who cannot be easily grouped within one of the traditional categories in Church history. Moreover, Eustace is not even a confessor since he suffered martyrdom along with his entire family. Bishops, monks, and laymen are mixed in these pages, and here we find the greatest variety of stories. We are justified in asking whether the saints appearing here are simply the remainders – those not fitting

into the other categories – or whether there are certain features that unite this group.

Although the group is clearly heterogeneous, we can easily find motifs that are primarily characteristic of this assemblage. One is the life of a hermit, and this aspect is perfectly clear in the lives of Giles and St Paul the Hermit. Although Remy never lives as a hermit, Genebald, who plays a central role in Remy's story, does; he seeks atonement in a life of solitude. Also related to this is the story of Alexis, who as a pilgrim secludes himself in the house of his father. Brice also lived seven years in exile as a wanderer, and the *Golden Legend* also refers to the exile of Hilary although this is not depicted in the legendary. Eustace is also forced to set off wandering and undergoes many trials. Thus solitude and peregrination are two uniting themes.

The novelistic quality of all the stories presented here is also striking. The legends of Eustace and Alexis⁴⁸⁹ are clearly built from fictional motifs of classical antiquity. Earlier, Jerome, in writing the legend of St Paul the Hermit (the source for the version in the *Golden Legend*), used exotic, antique literary motifs.⁴⁹⁰ Interestingly, the *Golden Legend* narrates a typical antique animal story (about a tamed lion) in the legend of Jerome, although no trace of this can be found in the legendary since it presents a different aspect of the saint's life.⁴⁹¹ To a certain degree the legend of Giles, who came from a distinguished family but withdrew to the desert where he lived on beef, also qualifies as novelistic, with travel, a storm at sea, and a hunting scene adding color to the tale.

Astonishing elements occur in the lives of the three French bishops (Brice, Remy and Hilary), although more weight is given to other motifs in the legendary. The stories of Brice and Remy actually center on just one theme: the question of purity. We see that temptation and its defeat are characteristic of the monastic saints. Here, on the other hand, the emphasis is different: the focus is not on the torment of temptation, but on forbidden relationships and the accusation or the fruits of it. Consequently the

visual formulation is different. In the temptation scenes of the monks, we see flirtatious women, the devil himself, or the methods of resistance. In the images from the cycles of Brice and Remy, we see a child, who is the fruit of a true or alleged relationship. The other type of temptation also appears in this group, in the legend of St Paul the Hermit, logically connecting him to the group of monks.

The role of the bishops as church dignitaries stands out sharply in these cycles, as is manifest in the large number of ordination scenes. Public life does not characterize this group of saints. Their virtues (beyond the question of purity) are symbolized mainly by their good deeds and solicitude. The elements of nature are especially susceptible to their miraculous powers: fire in the legend of Brice; the raging sea in Giles; the ferocious lion in Eustace; the wolf, raven and lions in St Paul the Hermit; and snakes in Hilary. This is probably a result of the novelistic quality of the legends. Giles even stands out for the great variety of his miracles. Also arising from this novelistic element are great calamities, which several images deal with as in the other group of confessors. Typically, events related to the saints' deaths are relegated to the background. Of the seven cycles, only three include death scenes and three burial scenes, while two (Brice and Remy) contain neither, which is extraordinarily rare in this codex.⁴⁹² As in the preceding group, translations and miracles of the relics do not appear.

Furthermore, not one of the saints in this group has numerous cycles dedicated to him.⁴⁹³ Table 12 shows the number of Italian series.

Therefore, iconographic tradition had no real impact on the creation of these series. The pictures also reveal that when the legend was visually rendered (with the exception of one or two more famous scenes from the lives of each saint), the codex's own stock of images was relied on. Below we will divide the group into three parts in order to examine how choices of representation were made and for what reasons.

<i>Kaftal</i>	<i>T</i>	<i>CS</i>	<i>NE</i>	<i>NW</i> ⁴⁹⁴
Brice	—	—	—	—
Giles	1	2	—	—
Alexis	—	1	—	—
Eustace	2	—	—	1
Paul	—	—	—	—
Remy	—	—	—	—
Hilary	—	—	—	—

Table 12. The number of Italian cycles of the discussed saints (after George Kaftal)

Three bishops: Brice, Remy, Hilary

The group begins and ends with the stories of bishops from three French towns: Tours, Reims and Poitiers. The role of these saints as Church dignitaries is clear for the first sight: in the legends of Brice and Remy the first scene shows their ordination as bishops, while in Hilary it is the second scene. The story of Remy is especially striking because it contains no less than three scenes of ordination – almost half of the eight images are devoted to this topic! The cycle of Hilary also contains a large number of images of bishops, generally under the pretense of representing the synod in scenes VI–VII.

A closer look at the focus of the individual legends reveals a strange one-sidedness. Of the four images (Fig. 43) in the legend of **St Brice**, one shows his ordination (scene I)⁴⁹⁵ and three narrate a related story. The people of Tours accused Brice, the successor of St Martin, of impregnating a woman. The infuriated crowd gathered at the gates with stones in hand and demanded an explanation.⁴⁹⁶ Scene II in the cycle, on the other hand, does not show commoners, but rather armed men threatening at the gate, and the building recalls a prison rather than an episcopal palace.⁴⁹⁷ In response, Brice calls upon the thirty-day-old infant to bear witness (scene III),⁴⁹⁸ but the people still refuse to believe him, so another, greater miracle is required. The bishop carries glowing embers in his



Fig. 43. Life of Saint Brice, scenes I–IV, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 93v (L 154)

mantle to the grave of St Martin but his clothing remains unsinged (scene IV).⁴⁹⁹ This is Brice's most famous and most frequently depicted miracle.⁵⁰⁰ The cycle ends with this image, omitting later scenes of Brice's exile and return, his death and burial. Clearly, the little space available was reserved for just one story whose central idea is the preservation of purity.

Related to this is the legend of **St Remy**, which does not actually tell the story of the saint. Only his miracle of the wine is depicted immediately after the ordination scene. Other scenes such as less significant miracles and even the baptism and anointment of King Clovis⁵⁰¹ are omitted. Once again this demonstrates the program's lack of interest in Church politics and its refusal to express a definitive opinion about any ruler. Instead, three-quarters of the legend focus on the story of another bishop, Genebald, who is ordained while his wife takes the veil (III). But the wife, now a nun, visits her husband so frequently (IV) that soon after two children are born (V). Genebald confesses to Remy (VI) and does serious penance for it – and finally the Lord has mercy on him (VII). The sin has no consequences and Latro, the child born of this illicit act, grows up to become a bishop himself (VIII).⁵⁰² Obviously, this is the primary message of the legend of Remy and explains his inclusion in the codex.

In comparison, the legend of **St Hilary** contains other motifs. At the beginning of the cycle the saint's status is set: in scene II we see his ordination as bishop. We also find a miracle (III: he defeats snakes on the island of Gallinaria) and a burial scene (VIII), all of which help link the figure of Hilary to other saints in the codex. Surprisingly though, the first scene does not contain an image of the saint. Instead we see Hilary's daughter in secular garb, but acting as a nun; this corresponds to the inscription.⁵⁰³ The text of the *Golden Legend*, however, makes no mention of this, although there is a phrase in the introduction according to which Hilary "was married and had one daughter, but while still a layman led

the life of a monk."⁵⁰⁴ This appears to be a peculiar misunderstanding that for once we cannot attribute to the author of the inscription, but must trace back to the creators of the program. Indeed this text could easily have been misconstrued and perhaps an erroneous version was used. At the same time, this misinterpretation leads to a characteristic parallel with Genebald who also has a child who becomes devoted to the virtuous life. This motif continues in the last image on the page (IV) in which Hilary is seen at the bedside of his daughter, praying for the Lord to take her before she gives up her pledge of virginity and marries. After the girl dies, her mother begs the bishop to request her early death as well (V).⁵⁰⁵ These motifs thus present the saint-bishop guarding the virtue of his family.

Images VI–VII of the cycle are an interesting supplement to this in which the bishop looks after the fate of the entire Church. At a council called by the pope, Hilary drops in uninvited and exchanges words with the pope, who then suddenly dies a horrible death. Afterwards the participating bishops request Hilary's blessing.⁵⁰⁶ This is the second story of this kind in the codex in which an evil pope dies an ugly death because of a saint's intercession (see the legend of Gregory, L 117b–d).

Two hermits: Giles and Paul

Of the four hermits depicted in the codex, two are included in this group, while Anthony the Great appears among the founders of monastic orders and Mary Magdalene is among the female saints.

The legend of **St Giles** is characterized mainly by miraculous healings and interventions. With his cloak he heals a stricken man (I), exorcises the devil from another (II), saves a ship from a storm (III), rescues King Charles from damnation (VI), and resurrects the son of the prince of Nîmes (VII). These stories can be matched surprisingly to events in the image cycle of St Martin: in

both the saints donate their cloaks to a beggar, wrest a man away from the devil, and save others either from the gallows or from the dangers of the sea. We do not know if the cycle of Martin included the famous mass of Albenga or the resurrection of the child – but the sermon of St Giles and the reviving of the boy are certainly reminiscent of these. The resurrection scene is not known in the Italian tradition. Similarly unique is the last image in which the saint's death is signaled by an angel.⁵⁰⁷

The saint's role as hermit is referred to only in the middle scenes of the cycle which are devoted to the most famous story, the deer hunt. The saint, shown with a grey beard, sits alone in the forest among some rocks. His companion is a deer he saved, although he was gravely wounded in the process. The next picture shows a pope and a ruler, representatives of the highest ecclesiastical and secular powers, kneeling before Giles. The image thus takes its interpretation far beyond the text of the legend; the text speaks only of a bishop or king, with no mention of kneeling.⁵⁰⁸ In this instance, the opportunity to communicate a political message is taken advantage of, but instead of portraying a confrontation between church and secular powers, the supremacy of the sanctity of the Church is expressed. The next scene, the mass of St Giles, is also laden with political overtones, but no visual references are made to this.⁵⁰⁹

The most extensive cycle in the iconography of St Giles is found in the almost contemporary *Liber depictus*.⁵¹⁰ The selection of scenes is surprisingly similar, but because the cycle is longer (twelve scenes) there are differences.⁵¹¹ The Bohemian codex contains three additional scenes that emphasize Giles's role as monk: Giles speaking with a bishop, his withdrawal into seclusion, and the building of a monastery. The omission of these scenes in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* was perhaps intentional; as we have seen in the legends of the monastic saints, the program of the codex has no interest in this aspect.

It is therefore no surprise that the monastic element in the life of **St Paul**, the other hermit saint in the group, is also not highlighted. His cycle consists of two parts, with the first showing Paul's motivations for becoming a hermit. Opponents of Christianity hoped to break his resolve through physical torment and temptation, so Paul flees to the desert. The latter motif, the desert, is familiar from the lives of the founders of monastic orders.

The remainder of the cycle is devoted to the novelistic narrative in which St Anthony the Great visits Paul – a scene frequently depicted in the cycles of Anthony as well.⁵¹² While the codex does not contain the most adventurous episodes (the sudden appearance of the centaur and satyr), there are still plenty of miraculous motifs: wild animals (wolf, lion) serve as Anthony's pious assistants, and a raven brings double portions of bread. The final scene in the cycle narrates the last miracle in the legend, but because it is a burial scene the particular customs of the codex are also adhered to.

Two novel-like heroes: Alexis and Eustace

We find adventurous episodes in legends from other groups too, but the legends of Eustace and Alexis are the best examples of the use of late antique novelistic motifs.⁵¹³ According to the legend, on the day of **St Alexis's** wedding, he travels to a faraway land, where he lives for seventeen years, disguising his rank. Even his own servants do not recognize him. Just when his fate is about to improve, he returns to his parent's home, and scrapes along as a beggar for another seventeen years. Upon his death, everything is miraculously revealed and not only the commoners, but also the highest ecclesiastical and secular powers prostrate themselves before him. This is supplemented by Christian motifs such as almsgiving, the appearance of the Virgin, and the cult of his relics. As a consequence the emphasis shifts: it is no longer the exotic elements that prevail, but a life of virtue and its

rewards. The first page is devoted to the virtues: virginity, almsgiving, humility, and also asceticism through the depiction of the mother. The second page shows the rewards: attention is drawn to the saint by the Virgin Mary in Edessa and by the voice of the sky in Rome. After his death the pope and the emperor gather around him and take his remains to their final resting place. This same motif occurs in the legend of Giles: the pope and the emperor pay their respects to the greatness of the saint.

Although St Alexis was among the favorite saints of the Middle Ages, and his legend appeared in several languages (the most famous is the mid-ninth century Old French version⁵¹⁴), visual depictions are rare.⁵¹⁵ The late ninth century frescoes in the crypt of S. Clemente in Rome narrate the second half of the story.⁵¹⁶ This assemblage concentrates on the dramatic elements, while the approach in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is less intense. At the same time, in scene VII, we see Alexis's dead body lying diagonally as it does in the fresco in Rome, although it is a mirror image. This antiquated motif was used for important figures who play a key role in the action as opposed to the dead or infirm shown as the object of miracles; Mary also lies like this at the birth of Jesus.⁵¹⁷

The story of **St Eustace** moves in this same direction. Unfortunately only fragments of this legend have survived, with the first page missing. The second page shows the child captured by wild animals (V); later he meets his family again (VI); the emperor throws him to the lions, but they do not harm him (VII); finally his family is shut into a red-hot iron bull, but their dead bodies are removed intact (VIII). The first page certainly contains the more characteristic elements of the adventures, but perhaps we can risk stating that in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* the martyrdom aspect of the legend appears to be magnified; in other words attempts were made to fit Eustace in with the other saints.

This becomes even clearer if we compare the cycle to the visual tradition. The story of Eustace is not unheard of in Italy,⁵¹⁸ while the most extensive cycle is found in the fourteenth century *Liber depictus* of Krumau (Český Krumlov).⁵¹⁹ Although considerably longer (sixty-eight scenes!), the legend is obviously preoccupied with adventure and war, which might explain why one of the martyrdom scenes (scene VII in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*) is not shown.

The problem of the family seems particularly characteristic of this group. Alexis has a chaste marriage and Eustace loses his family and later recovers them. In the stories of the bishop-saints, we find Brice is accused of fatherhood; Genobald and Hilary, on the other hand, are fathers, but their children chose lives of virtue. This may be a unifying aspect of the group, but as we have seen on a more general level certain common features have been magnified, if in varying degrees. While Alexis chooses willingly all hardship and torment, Eustace is struck by a series of external blows resulting from his earlier decision. As a result, Alexis' virtues are highlighted, while in Eustace it is his martyrdom. But the tendency is the same: through the selection of scenes and the visual tools of the codex, the designers of the program strove to indicate their place within the circle of saints.

III.5. FEMALE SAINTS AND VIRGINS

The group of female saints is the smallest, consisting of only two legends— clearly in part because the end of the codex was the most vulnerable to damage, but also because the program of the legendary is very male-oriented, with little attention allotted to females. The two cycles that have survived are fragmentary. The first two pages of the legend of Mary Magdalene are missing (two have survived), while Catherine's ends abruptly after the fourth image. Thus, all together only three pages and twelve images remain.

As such, it is difficult to determine what picture the codex wished to provide of the female saints – or if it had any special message at all to convey about these women. The surviving material suggests an attempt to portray the various female saints with the same nuances found in the cycles of the corresponding male saints. In any case, the two cycles we have are of a quite distinct character, although it's possible that heroines of the other lost legends may have followed the type of Catherine the martyr.

In the surviving images of **Mary Magdalene**, we see her living a life of penitence and solitude. However, this could be misleading – after all, the first half of her legend tells of a very active life, and the first of the surviving images are of this type: we see a saint passionately involved in missionary activities and overturning idols (IX, L 168a). At the same time, the portrait provided by the surviving third page is certainly the most typical view of Mary Magdalene during the period.

In fact, the cult of Mary Magdalene began to flourish during the thirteenth century precisely because of her sorrow and isolation. At the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215, the decrees concerning confession called for a minimum of one confession a year. Following the council, one of the important goals of the mendicant orders was to encourage repentance. Consequently Mary Magdalene frequently appeared in their sermons,⁵²⁰ and this had an impact on the fine arts too. In the thirteenth century this theme was popular especially among the Franciscans,⁵²¹ as three important fresco cycles demonstrate: one in the Lower Church of S. Francesco in Assisi, another in the Rinucci Chapel of S. Croce in Florence (Giovanni da Milano), and the third in the Podestà's chapel in the Bargello, also in Florence. In fourteenth century Franciscan breviaries Mary Magdalene is linked to St Francis, and a common liturgical veneration of the saints also developed. Francis, as the new Christ, transformed the Mary Magdalene type, strengthening the aspect of penitence in her story. Dante, in writing about the marriage

of Francis and the Mistress of Poverty, described the latter using words appropriate for Mary Magdalene ("So that, when Mary still remained below, She mounted up with Christ upon the cross").⁵²² In the two half lunettes of another, later altarpiece from around 1450, Giovanni di Paolo pairs the stigmata of Francis with the communion of Mary.⁵²³

In time, the Dominicans adopted her cult as well,⁵²⁴ and in 1295 a Dominican convent was established in St Maximin in Provence, where the saint's relics were kept after their discovery in 1279.⁵²⁵ The house of Anjou had a role in this event: the prince of Salerno (who later became Charles II, the king of Naples, [1285–1309]) had a vision in which Mary Magdalene told him that despite popular belief, her remains were not in Vézelay (where her relics had been discovered in 1265), but actually in St Maximin. Later as king, Charles remembered Mary Magdalene: in 1308 he commissioned Pietro Cavallini to make a fresco depicting the saint for the Brancaccio chapel of the S. Domenico Maggiore in Naples – a church that he had rededicated to Mary Magdalene in 1283.⁵²⁶

Continuing to show strict penance, Mary Magdalene withdrew into a life of solitude and here achieved such a degree of perfection that "every day at the seven canonical hours she was carried aloft by angels and with her bodily ears heard the glorious chants of the celestial hosts."⁵²⁷ A hermit priest nearby must have witnessed it, as depicted in scene X. The body of Mary Magdalene, in accordance with iconographic tradition was covered merely in her own hair.⁵²⁸ The miniature is not entirely intact, but she appears to have a book in hand which clearly refers to the end of the *officium*. The *levitatio* scene is paralleled in the legend of two other saints: Anthony⁵²⁹ and Ladislás.⁵³⁰

The role of the cleric was to observe the levitation so he could not only inform outsiders of the miracle, but also bring the news of Mary's imminent death to the bishop, St Maximin. The bishop finds her in a chapel, where she

dies after taking communion (XI). Surprisingly, in contrast to the text, the codex depicts the scene outside rather than in a building,⁵³¹ with Mary Magdalene again supported by angels – in other words the composition of the previous image is repeated. The miniaturist does not show bishop Maximin as a saint, and the bishop in the next burial scene does not appear to be him, although according to the legend bishop Maximin has Mary Magdalene buried immediately (XII = “Vltima”).⁵³²

In contrast, the last page, which deals with her posthumous miracles, displays other features conspicuously absent from the iconographic tradition.⁵³³ Clearly these scenes had significance only in the program of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Perhaps this explains why the author of the *titulus* wrote the inscription “Vltima” under the burial scene. Not only do the customary poetics of the cycles suggest this should be the end of the cycle, but also the author of the inscription may have found posthumous miracles unusual in the iconography of Mary Magdalene. But points of connection still exist. The story of the penitent Mary Magdalene logically continues with a knight who dies without having confessed, and that is why the saint briefly resurrects him.⁵³⁴

None of the four posthumous miracles adds a new voice to the codex. The resurrection of someone who has not confessed (XIII) occurs in the legends of St James the Greater and St Francis.⁵³⁵ The erasing of sin, which is made visible by a fading slip of paper (XIV) also takes place not only in the famous sermon of St Giles, but in the cycles of James and Prince Emeric, although in the latter the visual motif of the slip of paper is absent.⁵³⁶ The third miracle, in which the saint frees a debtor from prison (XV), also has analogies in the legends of Francis and James.⁵³⁷ In the last scene, a cleric who has gone astray reforms and then receives forgiveness at the grave (XVI). This links Mary Magdalene to the Central-European saints: miracles at the grave occur in Stanislaw, Ladislas and especially in Emeric (in which the miracles center

on the forgiveness of sins). Perhaps we are not mistaken in thinking this may reflect the personal preferences of the House of Anjou for the resting place of the relics discovered by a member of the family – the grandfather of Charles I of Hungary!⁵³⁸

In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, Mary Magdalene is thus closely connected to such key saints as St James the Greater, honored with the longest cycle; Francis, who stands out among the monastic saints; and also to the local saints, especially Emeric. Although links to Francis are not unusual, it is a peculiar feature of the codex that the circle was expanded in this direction.

All that remains of the legend of **St Catherine of Alexandria** are the first four images. This hardly provides a basis for making any far-reaching conclusions, but still certain features stand out.

According to the inscription, the first image on the page shows the saint teaching girls.⁵³⁹ Surprisingly, no iconographic analogies to this scene can be found, and the text of the *Golden Legend* does not mention any such events. According to Edit Madas’s convincing hypothesis,⁵⁴⁰ the scene illustrates these words in the text: “Catherine ... was fully instructed in all the liberal studies.”⁵⁴¹ The author of the inscription misunderstood the image, which conveys this abstract thought with the aid of an epic motif and interpreted it literally.

But why was it necessary to accentuate a concept difficult to depict right at the outset of the legend? The next image offers an explanation: Catherine’s success in disputing questions of faith not only with the emperor but also the fifty best orators in the Roman Empire is dependent on her learnedness. According to the legend, Catherine debated with the emperor before the gate to a pagan temple,⁵⁴² which is represented in the codex by an idol. The third scene shows her persuading the wise men, and the gestures of Catherine, the pagans, and the emperor signify a protracted argument conducted in a typically scholastic mode, as described in the *Golden Legend*.

The orators are unable to counter Catherine's arguments, so the displeased emperor has them thrown on the fire. What worries the wise men most, however, is that they have not been baptized, but thanks to Catherine they are christened with fire instead of water.

The martyrdom of the orators already belongs to the second tier of the legend of Catherine, to the passion of the saint, which in fact begins in the second image. This image type in the legendary is used not only for disputes, but also for interrogations, and according to the *Golden Legend* the emperor threw Catherine in prison for her bold opposition. The passion of Catherine most likely continued at length on the next page, as Catherine belongs to those martyrs whose death is preceded by numerous unsuccessful attempts to break her spirit through torture.

There is no way to accurately reconstruct how these images may have looked, but there are sources that can provide some direction. We have the Bolognese codex of Miklós Vásári, already mentioned earlier, which shows four scenes from the life of St Catherine on the title page.⁵⁴³ The last two depict her being broken on the wheel and then beheaded. These were certainly included in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. The first two images in the Vásári codex are scenes of Catherine's conversion, and we might ask whether these can be reconciled with the approach found in the legendary since her visit to the hermit is not included in the *Golden Legend*.⁵⁴⁴

In our discussion of the legend of St Ambrose, we noted that the closest analogy is a fresco cycle painted by Masolino in the S. Clemente in Rome. A similar relationship can be observed with the Catherine cycle of the fresco as well, but given how widespread the iconography of Catherine was, this has less significance. Furthermore, the scene that adds a unique feature to the cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* – the first image highlighting the learnedness of Catherine – is precisely the scene missing from the fresco.

In any case, two basic features distinguish the portrait of Catherine from the others in the legendary: one is the depiction of her as a learned, indefatigable and effective missionary; the other is portrayal of her as the martyr who withstands torment and repeatedly prevails against her opponents. This latter is characteristic of the first group of martyrs, although their legends do not contain missionary activities. Evangelizing is more frequent among the apostles, whose passions are also significant. The cycle of Catherine was thus shaped according to these two patterns. In addition to being presented as a martyr she is also imbued with the qualities of the apostles, which signifies the heightened esteem held for Catherine. From this we can also see that while the female saints and virgins are distinguished structurally from the other saints by being placed in their own separate group, nevertheless, no unique legend type was developed for them in the pages of the codex.

NOTES

- 1 Karl 1929, Lukcsics 1930, Levárdy 1964 and 1973. Cf. Madas 1992.
- 2 For the sources of the *Golden Legend* see Boureau 1984, 86–96; Fleith 1991, 17–24; Rhein 1995, 21–43.
- 3 These sources are not always used directly. Moreover, Jacobus usually did not use the earliest version but another one easily accessible for him. Boureau 1984, 86.
- 4 Kaftal T, CS, NW, NE: successively the Northern Italian volumes are the more recent.
- 5 The three videodiscs contain the complete visual material and iconographic database of the *Reginenses latini*, *Urbinate latini* and the first 2000 manuscripts of the *Vaticani latini*. See Baschet 1994. On the iconographic database, see Thésaurus 1993.
- 6 The iconographic peculiarities of fourteenth-fifteenth century Hungary were summarised by Tünde Wehli in MoMT II 1987, 181–216. For the single genres see the partially outdated corpus of Dénes Radocsay: the murals in Radocsay 1954 and 1977 (for which see also Dvořáková–Krása–Stejskal 1978 and Drăguș 1972); the panel painting in Radocsay 1955, and the wood sculpture in Radocsay 1967. For fourteenth century Bohemia see the iconographic index in Pešina 1958, Dvořáková et al. 1964.
- 7 Guide to Visual Resources 2001, 256–259.
- 8 In the meantime a great part of the material is also accessible in the internet (www.bildindex.de), containing ca. 2 million images.
- 9 First of all the LCI can be used from this aspect, in which German examples are included extensively.
- 10 From our point of view the most useful was Dorsch 1983.
- 11 Borenius 1932 és 1933; Courcelle 1965 and 1968; Pfaffrath 1984 and 1990, Dal Prà 1990 and 1991.
- 12 E.g. Dubler 1953 for Benedict, David-Daniel 1958 for Cosmas and Damian.
- 13 E.g. XV centenario 1980, Franz v. Assisi 1982, Omaggio a San Marco 1994, Martino 2006.
- 14 E.g. Réau, Aurenhammer, LCI, Bibliotheca Sanctorum.
- 15 This idea, although contradicting the general system of the codex, is based on the fact that this is the only page missing from the last part of the cycle. It would have been strange if Saluzzo had left out only this scene from his collection. If he did, it can be explained that the page did not fit into the format of his newly created booklet – or he himself did not own it, being detached previously from the codex. Cf. the format of the Crucifixion in Duccio's Maestà.
- 16 This Eucharistic accent became emphasized from the fourteenth-fifteenth century. LCI vol. 1, 11–12. Cf. Schiller 1968, 48, who presents this feature on the example of the Leuven altarpiece of Dirk Bouts (1464–68).
- 17 First in the Gospels of St Augustine of Canterbury, sixth century, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, Ms. 286, fol. 125. Schiller 1968, Abb. 8b.
- 18 The inscription known from a seventeenth century transcription identifies this figure with Pilate, though this is certainly a mistake since Pilate is represented later and in another physiognomy. According to the Gospel of John (Jn 18:13) Jesus was first brought to Annas and later to Caiphas; however, the persons in the first and third images are identical. The doubling of the Caiphas-scene is not unknown in the iconographic tradition, e.g. in the Maestà of Duccio. The problem was investigated in Central European material by Jana Kováčová, *Christ before his Judges*, MA thesis, Budapest, CEU, 2003.
- 19 Cf. LCI vol. 4, 333–338 (J. Myslivec).
- 20 On the role of the palm branch in the Annunciation, the Annunciation of the death of the Virgin and her burial, see Kretzenbacher 1999.
- 21 Levárdy 1973, comment of the picture 17/3.
- 22 Graesse 518, Maggioni 799.
- 23 For L 18a–b see Graesse 508–509, Maggioni 784–785. For L 18c commented here see Graesse 507, Maggioni 783; for the next scene again Graesse 509, Maggioni 785.
- 24 LCI vol. 2, 276–283 (J. Fournée).
- 25 Masseron 1957.
- 26 Examples are better known in northwest Italy: Albizzate, Visconti Oratory, murals from the fourteenth century; Montegrazie, Santuario di Nostra Signora delle Grazie, wall-painting from 1485, see Kaftal NW 376. no. 9.
- 27 Kaftal NE 509, NW 372, T 549 offer altogether seven examples; in Central and South Italy it was not popular.
- 28 Kaftal NE knows two, NW one, T two and CS a further one representation.
- 29 It is also true that Peter did not surpass other apostles by the number of his images.
- 30 LCI vol. 8, 172.
- 31 P. Archiardi, Gli affreschi di S. Piero a Grado presso Pisa, in: *Atti del congresso internazionale di scienze storiche* Vol. VII (1905) 193–245., quoted by LCI vol. 8, 172–173.
- 32 Based on the material collected by Kaftal. E.g. scenes IV–V–VI (imprisoning, escaping and beating of the apostles) are unparalleled. On the contrary, the last part of his passion is shorter in the codex; the missing of the scene *Quo vadis* is especially strange.
- 33 The identification of these scenes was problematic. Levárdy interpreted scene XII (L 27b) as the fasting and eating of Peter, while it clearly represents the origin of the tonsure, see *Legenda aurea*, Graesse 178–183, Maggioni 270–276. A correct interpretation is in Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 31.
- 34 Caput LXXXIX. (84.) De sancto Petro apostolo (Graesse 368–379, Maggioni 559–575); Caput XLIV. De cathedra sancti Petri (Graesse 178–183, Maggioni 270–276).
- 35 There are a few examples of the *Cathedra Petri* in Italian tradition (Kaftal T 812. no. 17: Jacopo di Cione's panel, Museo Vaticano, fig. 918, and the fresco of Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel in Florence; NW 541, no. 10: Castel San Pietro, frescoes of S. Pietro, middle of fourteenth century, fig. 762; NE 833. no. 19: Venetian miniature from the first half of the fourteenth century, fig. 1091). The representation of the origin of the tonsure is unparalleled.
- 36 St Stephen the Protomartyr I, L 78a. The young man keeping the robes does not resemble the representations of Paul in his own legend.
- 37 The inscription of scene XVII (“quomodo fuit percussus ad faciem” L 34a) may refer to the beating mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (23:2) but the ruler represented in the picture cannot be the high priest, but rather resembles Nero, clearly identifiable in scenes XIX and XXIV. It seems as Paul is captured by Nero during his preaching and after it he preaches and exorcises again. For this part the *Golden Legend* does not provide textual background thus it cannot be excluded that the entire cycle followed a unique, so far unidentified source.
- 38 Palermo, Capella Palatina and Monreale, cathedral, mosaic cycles from the twelfth century (with 10 resp. 12 scenes). In Rome 11 scenes of the lost ninth-century frescoes of S. Costanza can be identified. Kaftal CS 852–861. The destroyed cycles of S. Paolo fuori le mura and Old St Peter should be mentioned, too. Out of Italy the stained glasses of Chartres represent a longer cycle (LCI vol. 8, 145–146.), but the half of them are new (Manhes–Deremble 1993, 304–305).

- 39 Paul cures a man with crippled feet in Lystra and honored by presents (Acts 14:7–14); is beaten by clubs (Acts 14:18); heals a demonized girl (Acts 16,18–22); escapes from his prison and converts the prison keeper (Acts 16:26–33); resuscitates the boy fallen out of a window (Acts 20:9–10); is captured and beaten (Acts 21:27–36 and 22:24–25); captured during preaching (?); exorcizing (?); finally the passion: Nero investigates him, Plantilla gives him a kerchief on the road to his execution, beheaded, appears to Plantilla together with Peter, who demonstrates the kerchief to the people; appears to Nero (on the basis of the *Golden Legend*).
- 40 Only four scenes can be mentioned in this context: L 32c-d, 34a-b. Even in these pictures the preaching is not the main subject. One of them is quite problematic (L 32c). According to Levárdy, it represents the conversion of the prison keeper, though neither the keeper, nor his family is identifiable. It is equally possible that the famous speech at Areospagos is represented here. On the other hand, the inscription suggests another meaning: “XI. quomodo est sanacio multorum.”
- 41 L 32c, see the previous note.
- 42 “Angelus domini sancto Andree apparuit et Margundiam ad sanctum Matthaeum ire precepit.” Graesse 13., Maggioni 25, Ryan 1993, I 13. In contrast to the text, we do not see the angel of the Lord, but instead Jesus appears before Andrew.
- 43 For the special hairdress of Andrew see Pillinger 1994, esp. 32; Denoël 2004, 133–141. This Italo-Byzantine characteristic disappears later, *ibid.* 258.
- 44 “Qui uelocius iussa complens ad urbem predictam peruenit angelo duce et prospero uento flante et inuento aperto carcere sancti Mathei eoque uiso fleuit plurimum et orauit. Tunc dominus Matheo reddidit beneficium duorum luminum quibus eum priuauerat nequitia peccatorum.” Graesse 13, Maggioni 25, Ryan 1993, vol. I, 13. The *titulus* (“quomodo fuit extractus de carcere.”) does not reveal who is being released. Attention was called to this anomaly by Denoël 2004, 158 too, who strangely attributes the mistake to the author of the *titulus*.
- 45 Graesse 13–14, Maggioni 26. This scene is also known from Provence, an early fifteenth century altarpiece from the Priory of Thouzon (Louvre), Aurenhammer 136–137. Denoël 2004 quotes examples from Auxerre, Rouen and a manuscript.
- 46 Kaftal does not mention Italian parallels. A French miniature can be quoted from the fifteenth century: Paris, BN fr. 50 fol. 332; Martin 1928, 13. Denoël 2004 quotes a legendary ca. 1250: BN NAF 23686; it is worth mentioning that the pages are divided to four scenes similarly to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (see figs. 35–36).
- 47 This scene appears in the Thouzon altarpiece too (Louvre). Without knowing these, two further examples (a panel of Niccolò di Pietro Gerini, Santa Barbara, California, Museum of Art, ca. 1395–1400; Bartolino dei Grossi’s fresco in the Duomo of Parma, Capella Valeri) are quoted by Bisogni 1973. Further French representations are enumerated by Denoël 2004 (*Miroir historial* BN fr. 213, Auxerre, Dijon, Troyes, Valence).
- 48 This scene is represented relatively frequently; see Kaftal T no. 3; NE no. 24; NW no. 6. See also Denoël 2004, 165–169.
- 49 Beleth: “per trauerum”, PL 202, 165. Aurenhammer 136–137. (Troyes, Auxerre, Evreux, Cîteaux); according to Denoël 2004, 231–235 it was typical mainly in the thirteenth century, but also known in the fourteenth century, while it is totally replaced by the X-shaped cross in the fifteenth century.
- 50 Kaftal NE 37–48. Parma, Duomo, Capella Valeri, frescoes by Bertolino dei Grossi, 1417–22.
- 51 The cycle in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is longer than all the French cycles quoted by Denoël 2004.
- 52 That is the only represented posthumous miracle of the saint. Kaftal T 40–2: panel of Bartolomeo di Giovanni (Liverpool, Walters Art Gallery No 6), fig. 41; CS 65–66: Sanseverino, fresco in the crypt of S. Lorenzo in Doliolo, Lorenzo Salimbeni (?), figs. 61–62; NE 44–46: a panel belonging to the Autun predella of Michele di Matteo (unknown provenience), fig. 62, and the Parma frescoes quoted above, fig. 61. The composition of these representations corresponds well to the picture in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.
- 53 Each episode (the boiling in oil, the vision of Pathmos, the arrival to Ephesos and the resuscitation of Drusiana) was depicted in one single picture.
- 54 Four scenes are dedicated to this story, though the resuscitation is missing. Manhes-Deremble 1993, 372–373.
- 55 Kaftal CS 624. no. 11: Panel of A. Nuzzi, Washington, Kress Coll., fig. 727; NE 532. no. 11: Venice, mosaics of S. Marco and Rimini, fresco of S. Agostino, first half of fourteenth century, fig. 673.
- 56 All episodes are known from other representations, but none of them construct such a lengthy cycle. Kaftal T no. 12–13.; CS no. 12–14.; NW no. 6; NE no. 12–13. The longest is the fresco cycle in S. Maria Donnaregina in Naples with three scenes (Kaftal CS 625–627, figs. 728 and 730–731).
- 57 The only parallel known to me is shorter (for the first two scenes see Kaftal NE 535–536. no. 14–15.: Bolzano, frescoes of S. Giovanni in Villa, fourteenth century, figs. 684 and 687).
- 58 The next folio is missing, and therefore we cannot know how many images continued this story which seems to be unfinished in this page.
- 59 Graesse 60, Maggioni 92–93. Levárdy (1973, 45) reconstructed a consecration of a bishop as the second scene on the lost folio. Although such reconstructions usually cannot be judged (the newly found pages never proved similar suppositions), in this special case we tend to accept this idea.
- 60 Since the last page of this legend is fragmented, the position of the only surviving picture is problematic. On the basis of the frame of this fragment we can suppose that it was either the upper left or the lower left picture (the right side of the frame is gilded, the three other are blue; no folio is known in the codex which is framed from the right with gold). Levárdy put it to the upper row which seems to be acceptable.
- 61 LCI vol. 7, 32–34 (S. Kimpel).
- 62 “Iacobus apostolus filius Zebedei post ascensionem domini dum per Iudeam et Samariam predicaret in Hispaniam tandem iuit, ut ibi uerbum Dei seminaret. Sed dum ibi nihil proficere se uideret et solummodo nouem ibidem discipulos acquisiuisset, duos ex illis causa predicandi ibi reliquit et alios septem secum assumens iterum in Iudeam rediit.” Graesse 422, Maggioni 651; Ryan 1993, II, 3.
- 63 Elsewhere, he throws them into the fire (Kaftal NE 453: Padua, Santo, cappella di S. Giacomo, frescoes of Jacopo Avanzi and Altichiero, 1374–79, fig. 566), which was the original intention of the sorcerer (“so the burning smell should not agitate the believers”) James talks him out of it.
- 64 Logically this should appear before he throws the books in the sea — but the legend and the iconographic tradition list the events in this order. Cf. Graesse 423, Maggioni 653, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 4–5; on the cycle at Chartres: Manhes-Deremble 1993, 306–7, no. 17–18.
- 65 For example, Chartres, James window, no. 20. A scene of him overturning an idol is added to this, no. 19. Manhes-Deremble 1993, 306–7.
- 66 Cf. Manhes-Deremble 1993, 306–7 no. 26, 28–29.
- 67 L 53d: “quomodo miserunt nuncium ad Luppam.”
- 68 L 56a: “quomodo uenerunt populi orare ad sepulchrum.”

- 69 Image XXX (L 54b): “quomodo uenerunt ad herodem.”
- 70 Images XXXIX. (L 56c), LIII-LV. (L 60b-c-d), and probable scenes 65-68, among which only one is preserved (L 63b). Cf. the similar miracles of Mary Magdalene (L 169c) and Francis (NYd).
- 71 LX-LXI (correctly XL-XLI, L 56d-57a). Giles: L 156b, Mary Magdalene: L 169b.
- 72 Originally perhaps scenes 61-64, today only one image is known: Fig. 15.
- 73 LXII (correctly XLII, L 57b).
- 74 LVII-LVIII (L 61a-b).
- 75 LIX-LX (L 61c-d). Frances: NYC, Mary Magdalene: L 169a
- 76 L-LIII (L 59b-c-d-60a).
- 77 LXIII-LXIV (correctly XLIII-XLIV., L 57c-d)
- 78 See Kaftal T no. IV-V; CS no. IX; NW no. VI.; NE: no XXI.
- 79 LXV-LXVII (correctly XLV-XLVII., L 58a-b-c) resp. LXVIII (correctly XLVIII) and XLIX. (L 58d-59a).
- 80 The *titulus* does not differentiate between these either: “LXVI. [XLVI] quomodo peregrinus interfectus iudicabatur ante iudicem. diabolus cum eo” (L 58b). The text of the *Golden Legend* also refers simply to the Judge: “beatus Iacobus mox occurrit et ereptum ad thronum iudicis deduxit et accusantibus demonibus ut uite restitueretur obtinuit.” Graesse 427, Maggioni 657; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 7.
- 81 Less than nine pages (Graesse 421-430), or thirteen in the new edition (Maggioni 650-662). The legends of Peter, Paul and Andrew are all longer.
- 82 Before their baptism, they offered crowns to the saint as it happened with Paul and Barnabas in Lystra, see L 31b.
- 83 LCI vol. 7, 597-599 (M. Lechner) quotes as apocryphal scenes only nos. I-III and V-VII, nothing comparable to nos. IV and VIII (and, of course, no. X). Even Kaftal does not know the scene of preaching, however, can mention baptismal scenes: NE 731-2: Venice, mosaics of S. Marco (twelfth-thirteenth centuries) and Ravenna, frescoes of S. Maria in Porto Fuori, fourteenth century; T 727-728: predella of Pietro di Miniato, 1413 (Prato). In general, the iconography of Matthew is quite poor in Italy.
- 84 L 154c. The two cases are similar in another aspect, namely none of the saints identify the real father. Simon and Judas: “It is ours to absolve the innocent, not to bring ruin on the guilty.” (Ryan 1993, vol. II, 264). The answer of Brice for the similar question: “That’s not my affair! I did what I was called upon to do!” (Ryan 1993, vol. II, 301).
- 85 According to M. Lechner the apostles do not have a full cycle (“ein ausgeprägter Vitazyklus fehlt vollständig”, LCI vol. 8, 370), only their martyrdom is represented. For Judas he repeats that no cycle is known („zyklische Thaddäus-Darstellungen fehlen vollständig“, LCI vol. 8, 427). The only exception is the stained glass window at Chartres, Manhes-Deremble 1993, 300-301.
- 86 “Christiani autem corpus eius tulerunt et honorifice sepelierunt.” Graesse 543, Maggioni 834.
- 87 LCI vol. 5, 333. On the other hand, Kaftal knows about 10 flayings and 7 beheadings in Italy; moreover, five of the beheadings happened after flaying. (Kaftal T, 137, CS, 156, NW, 121, NE, 117-120.) In any case, the beheading is missing from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.
- 88 Jacobus in the *Golden Legend* first described the flaying and after some hesitation, he concluded that first the saint was crucified, then flayed and finally beheaded.
- 89 “Quibus demon ait: Capilli eius nigri et crispis, caro candida, oculi grandes, nares equales et directe, barba proluxa habens canos paucos,” Graesse 541, Maggioni 831; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 110.
- 90 This can be interpreted as the text of the *Golden Legend* says: “collobio albo clauato purpura uestitur, induitur pallio albo, quod per singulos angulos gemmas habet purpureas.” (Graesse 541, Maggioni 831; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 110). However, it is not evident that the patterns symbolize the precious stones and the purple tassels are also missing. Most probably the text was not illustrated directly of the *Golden Legend* but a comparable pictorial tradition was followed. See the next note!
- 91 Kaftal NE 109-114.: Verona, fresco of S. Zeno, thirteenth century (fig. 139) and polyptych of Bartolomeo del Fossato, 1377-81 (Genova); T 137-140: predella of Turino Vanni, Genova, S. Bartolomeo degli Angeli; CS 155-156: Urbino, Galleria, altarpiece from the 14th century, Marchian School.
- 92 Kaftal NE 441 enumerates three short cycles (Venice, mosaics of S. Marco; Padua, Eremitani, frescoes of Guarentino; Padua, Santo, Capella Belludi, frescoes of Giusto de Menabuoi, 1382). Two further scenes are included in the Philip and James frescoes of Spinello Aretino (healing and martyrdom, Arezzo, S. Domenico, Kaftal T 505, fig. 587). Cf. LCI vol. 7, 47-51 (B. Böhm).
- 93 In scene VI (L 77b) he is beaten by club and stone but not carried around as it is written in the text; in scene VII (L 77c) hail is represented instead of thunderbolt and the death of his enemies are not mentioned in the legend.
- 94 Omaggio a San Marco 1994 no. 42 (Hermann Fillitz): Venice, Museo Marciano. The represented scenes: consecration, healing of Anianus, Jesus visits him in the prison, martyrdom, the rescue of the ship transporting his remains to Venice, the discovery of his relics in the church of San Marco, miraculous healings at the tomb.
- 95 Kaftal NE 637-641: Padua, S. Giustina, frescoes of Giovanni Storlato, 1436-38. The cycle consists of 13 episodes, including ten posthumous scenes.
- 96 Vat.lat. 120, fol. 165 (a fourteenth century French Gospel Book).
- 97 Graesse 108, Maggioni 161, Ryan 1993, vol. I, 96-97 and Graesse 167-169, Maggioni 252-255, Ryan 1993, vol. I, 151-153. We should note that Fabian has two chapters in the *Golden Legend* (XXII and LXIV [Graesse 291]), although the latter may have been a later addition. Boureau 1984 28.
- 98 Kaftal T 361, Sinalunga, S. Lucia, altarpiece with the Madonna, Sts Sebastian and. Fabian, Benvenuto di Giovanni (1509). The scene is represented in the predella. Cf. LCI vol. 6, 215-216. (L. Schütz).
- 99 In Italy: Kaftal T: 2 cycles; CS: 3 cycles (eleventh-fourteenth centuries); NW: 2 cycles; NE: 3 cycles (fifteenth-sixteenth centuries). In German territories also well-known, see the thirteenth century pluviale of St Blasie with 20 scenes (St. Paul im Lavanttal) or the frescoes of Brunswick Cathedral.
- 100 “quomodo fuit electus in summum pontificem.”
- 101 A similar episode in the legend of Ambrose with Emperor Theodosius is also omitted in the codex.
- 102 This is represented in a separate iconographic type, LCI vol. 8, 398 no. 20 (G. Nitz).
- 103 In any case, they are represented together frequently in the Western tradition, LCI vol. 8, 570 (L. Schütz).
- 104 The martyrdom on the grids, so typical of Lawrence, is probably taken over from the legend of Vincent (Farmer 1978 237-238). The motif of the grid is a subject of debate in the mosaics in the Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna, see Courcelle 1948.
- 105 E.g. the original title of the church of S. Frediano in Lucca, LCI vol. 8, 570.
- 106 VIII. De sancto Stephano (on the martyrdom), Graesse 49-56, Maggioni 78-86; CXII./CVIII. De inventione sancti Stephani protomartiris, Graesse 461-465, Maggioni 711-717.
- 107 Cf. Graesse 53, Maggioni 83. The church interior might refer to the *translatio* of the saint.
- 108 L 80c: “quomodo omnes adorabant eum populi.”

- 109 Levárdy 1973, 80. He reconstructed the last image on the lost page 81 with the scene in reality already depicted in L 80d. This miracle happened during the passion which is not indicated in the image.
- 110 This scene is problematic in itself. The text of the *Golden Legend* describes the hierarchy of Decius–Valerianus–Hyppolitus which is not followed in the image cycle, omitting probably the figure of Valerius.
- 111 As an especially good parallel the fifteenth century but old-fashioned frescoes of Maestro Paroto and his workshop in the S. Lorenzo at Berzo Inferiore should be mentioned (Kaftal NW, 424). Only scene II is missing and in scene VIII a flying angel is represented instead of a boy (ibid. 428, no. 14, fig. 600).
- 112 Galliano, S. Vincenzo, frescoes, early eleventh century; Rome, S. Vincenzo, thirteenth century; a Spanish altar frontal, 1160–85; Basel; Chartres, stained glass window of Sts Theodor and Vincent, thirteenth century; Estamariu, altarpiece, ca. 1360, Barcelona; the longest is quite late: a carpit from Basel, 1515, Bern. Kaftal NW, 660; Kaftal CS, 1132; LCI, vol. 8, 568–572; Manhes-Deremble 1993, 310–311; Manote i Clivilles 2000, 46–47; in general see Mateu Ibars 1980.
- 113
- | | I. | II. | III. | IV. | V. | VI. | VII. | VIII. | |
|-----------|-----|-----|-------|-------|-------|-----|------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Galliano | 1 | 2 | 3 | | | I | | II | (numbering after Kaftal) |
| Rome | | | | | | I | II | | (numbering after Kaftal) |
| Basel | | + | + | | (+) | + | + | + | |
| Chartres | 13 | | 19–20 | 22–23 | 29–30 | 31 | 34 | 37–38 | (numbering after Manhes-Deremble) |
| Estamariu | 1 | 2 | 3 | | 4 | 5 | (6) | | |
| Bern | 2/1 | 2/3 | 2/4 | | | 3/1 | 3/3 | 3/4 | |
- 114 All the publications of Levárdy, e.g. Levárdy 1973, 97 (here he reconstructed a first, lost page); Levárdy 1988, Table II; similarly Morello, in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 17.
- 115 Levárdy's reconstruction: "[3] Christopher notices that the devil is frightened by the cross. [4] The devil confesses that he fears from Christ died on the cross." Levárdy 1973, 96.
- 116 E.g. Galliano, frescoes of S. Vincenzo, early eleventh century, Kaftal NW 197–200: between the temptation (no. 5) and the beheading (no. 13) seven torturing scenes are known. See also: Kaftal NE. 212–222; Kaftal T. 267–270; In viaggio con San Cristoforo 2000.
- 117 Vienna, ÖNB 370. fols. 62–64. Schmidt 1956.
- 118 Kurcz 1988, 213–215; Marosi 1995, 92.
- 119 Braunfels-Esche 1976; Dorsch 1983, 25 ff. Of course, the traditional dragon-killer motif is still in use.
- 120 Pešina 1958, 229–247, figs. 122–130; Dvořáková et al. 1964, 32–33, 132–133.
- 121 Collecting medieval cycles was started by Taube 1910; the most extensive collection: Dorsch 1983 (with a catalogue of 102 items); more recently: Sanct Georg 2001. The most significant example from panel paintings is the St George altarpiece from Cologne, ca. 1460, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Zehnder 1990, no. 114–118, 250–158. The longest cycle from medieval Hungary is the high altar of Szepesszombat (Spišská Sobota, Slovakia) 1516, with exclusively martyr scenes on the exterior sides of the wings (Radocsay 1955, 448; Glatz 2001, 18–19).

- 122 Kauffmann 1970, 90, Kauffmann 1973, 183. Kauffmann erroneously added the last two scenes of the Christopher legend to the George cycle, based on Poncellet, already corrected by Levárdy 1963.
- 123 Cf. Dorsch 1983 303 and the last part of this study.
- 124 Verona, Biblioteca Civica, Ms. 1853. Dorsch 1983, no. 23, 290; Kaftal NE, 350–374. (with all images). The scene of boiling in oil is different being the saint already cut to pieces; and the destruction of the pagan temple is in another context.
- 125 The research on St George usually focused on this scene: Taube 1911, 186–203; Didi-Huberman–Garbetta–Morgaine 1994. Hungarian research dealt with this scene related to the St George statue of Prague and the fresco of Ják, e.g. Balogh 1929; Marosi 1995, 115–119.
- 126 This would not be reasonable in the long cycle of Verona. Abridgements are suspected in the case of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary by Dorsch 1983, 303.
- 127 According to Dorsch the breaking of the wheel and the destruction of the temple are represented first in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, which, regarding the quality of the codex, could be a repetition of a better prototype. Dorsch 1983, 258–259 and 302–303.
- 128 The tool of torture is defined by the inscription as a torch (quomodo cum fauce ardente comburrebant corpus eius.), similarly to Vincent (L 86b). The *Golden Legend* mentions in both cases iron forks, as in the case of Blaise (L 88d), where also the *titulus* follow it. The tool in the picture cannot be identified clearly but it is possible that it was painted as a torch.
- 129 The interpretation of the single scene is not self-evident. According to the inscription, the first scene represents the healing of a paralytic (I. de sancto Sebastiano quomodo resanauit paraliticum), though the legend does not know about such an event. Therefore the image probably represents the healing of Tranquillinus (Graesse, 110, Maggioni, 165). In the next image there are two men in front of Sebastian, identified by the inscription as two infirm people (II. quomodo resanauit duos infirmos.). A similar scene is not known in the text. The kneeling man in the background is probably Tranquillinus asking the healing of the Roman prefect from the saint. The prefect, permitting Sebastian the destruction of the idols, is healed and baptised. However, the difference of the physiognomy of the sick on scene II and the baptised “king” in scene IV is disturbing; maybe the miniaturist also made a mistake.
- 130 The corpse of Sebastian is dropped into the sewer in the same way as those of John and Paul into the pit dug in their house (L 94b).
- 131 Hadeln 1906; Kraehling 1938. In Italian tradition the healing and baptism scenes are known only from the North, however, they are much rarer than the martyr scenes. Kaftal T, 917–926; CS, 996–1002; NW, 576–584; NE, 909–920.
- 132 Their identification and early cult is not without problems, see LCI vol. 7, 344.
- 133 Their veneration was even more intensive than that of St Luke in the faculty of medicine. For their cult and iconography David-Daniel 1958 is ground-breaking (mentioning the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* in the appendix but with wrong shelf-number and seemingly not knowing the images). For their veneration, ibid. 10 and LCI 7. 344–52 (W. Artelt, not mentioning the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*). For the Bolognese connotations, see David-Daniel 1958, 144.
- 134 Altarpieces originally in the monastery of S. Vincent d'Annalena (Florence, San Marco) and the Florentine San Marco (Munich, Washington, Dublin, Paris and Florence, S. Marco). Kaftal T: B and A.
- 135 The commissioner of the altars of Fra Angelico was the Medici family in which the name Cosimo frequently returned. On the connection of the Medicis and Cosma and Damian, see David-Daniel 1958.

- 136 "Iussit ergo proconsul ut fratres suos adducerent et simul ydolis immolarent, sed cum omnino immolare contempnerent, precepit eos in manibus et pedibus dure torqueri." Graesse, 637, Maggioni, 978; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 196.
- 137 "I. Cosme et Damiani quomodo percuciebant ipsos." Levárdy also says briefly (the governor) has them tortured. L 98a.
- 138 "Cum autem eius tormenta deriderent, iussit eos catena ligari et in mare precipitari" Graesse, 637, Maggioni, 978; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 196.
- 139 "sed statim ab angelo de mari liberantur et ante presidem statuuntur." Graesse, 637, Maggioni, 978; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 196.
- 140 "Et hoc dicto statim duo demones affuerunt et eum grauissime in faciem ceciderunt. Et ille clamans dixit: Deprecor uos, o boni uiri, ut pro me ad deum uestrum oretis. Quibus orantibus continuo demones discesserunt." Graesse 637, Maggioni 978; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 196–97.
- 141 "quomodo affugabant demones ante regem." (for the transcription see Appendix B.)
- 142 "Tunc eos in ignem copiosum iactari precepit, sed tamen eos nil lesit quin potius flamma longe prosiliit et multos de assistantibus interemit." Graesse 637–638, Maggioni 978–979; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 196–97.
- 143 "Tres igitur fratres in carcerem fecit recludi et Cosmam et Damianum crucifigi et a populo lapidari, sed in suos lapides redibant auctores et quam plurimos uulnerabant." Graesse 638, Maggioni 979; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 197.
- 144 "Tunc preses furore repletus eductis tribus fratribus et stantibus iuxta crucem iussit Cosmam et Damianum super crucem a quatuor militibus sagittari; sagitte uero conuersae plurimos uulnerabant, sed sanctos martyres non ledebant." Graesse 638, Maggioni 979; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 197.
- 145 "VII. quomodo fuerunt suspensi cum tribus iuuenibus."
- 146 "Videns autem preses in omnibus se confusum usque ad mortem angustatus omnes quinque fratres fecit insimul decollari." Graesse, 638, Maggioni, 979; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 197.
- 147 "IX. quomodo camellus ruit. et ostendit eis locum sepulture."
- 148 "Memores autem christiani uerbi quod dixerat sanctus Cosmas ne in unum sepelientur cogitabant quomodo uel ubi uellent sancti martyres sepe-
liri. Et ecce, subito camelus aduenit et humana uoce proclamans sanctos in uno loco sepeliri precepit." Graesse, 638, Maggioni, 979; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 197.
- 149 The *Golden Legend* also does not mention that the camel was healed previously by the doctor-saints. LCI vol. 7, 349: scene "f": healing of the camel and other animals.
- 150 In other cycles healing scenes are even more emphasized. In a thirteenth-fourteenth century reliquary in Cracow there are 14 healing scenes between the birth and the burial (David-Daniel 1958, 24). On the contrary, a fourteenth century Northern French *Legenda aurea* manuscript illustrated the martyrdom and the beheading (Vat. Reg. lat. ms. 534, fol. 182v).
- 151 In other regions other characteristics (as clerics, citizens or doctors and physician) are emphasized in their dress, see David-Daniel 1958, 180–191.
- 152 David-Daniel 1958, 181: e.g. the portrait of Dante in Bargello, Florence or the portrait of Petrarca by Cimabue.
- 153 Andrew V (L 37a), Simon-Judas VI (L 70b), James the Greater LXVI (L 58b) and LXX (correctly 69, L 64a).
- 154 David-Daniel 1958, 144.
- 155 The first part of the text in the *Golden Legend* enumerates the adventures of Clement in the manner of Antique novels. However, these have no iconographic tradition and the romantic motifs are assembled in the last group of the confessors.
- 156 Of course, this is hard to illustrate and the legend itself is uncertain if they were really popes.
- 157 "Prefectus autem ei nauem tribuit et omnia necessaria ministravit. Multi autem clerici et laici eum in exilium sunt secuti. Profectus autem in insulam inuenit ibi plus quam duo milia christianorum ibidem iamdudum ad secunda marmora dampnatorum". Graesse, 785, Maggioni, 1199; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 331. The inscription refers to his being a hermit: "quomodo sedebat in heremo". There are no visual analogies to this and his exile is depicted differently in a later picture: Kaftal T, 281–282. no. 1: Fungai, predella (earlier London, Langton Douglas collection), fig. 323.
- 158 Interestingly the anchor, one of the pope's attributes, is missing. In general, the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* does not tend to represent attributes.
- 159 The inscription misinterprets this: "quomodo angeli extraxeunt eum de mare."
- 160 "Quem cum Decius nullis posset persuasionibus inclinare fecit eum duci ad templum Martis ut aut sacrificaret aut in custodia Mamertini recipere-
tur;" Graesse, 483, Maggioni, 745, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 58.
- 161 The cleric on the left side with a halo is probably St Lawrence, represented differently than in his own legend (L 79–80). This is perhaps because as a side figure he is not emphasized here, or the pictorial world of the two legends were not harmonized.
- 162 Sixtus is beheaded together with Felicissimus and Agapitus, who were deacons according to the *Golden Legend* (Graesse, 483, Maggioni, 746) and not *discipuli*, as they are called in the *titulus*.
- 163 Burial is not mentioned in the *Golden Legend*, it follows the tradition of the codex.
- 164 The inscription interprets the scene in a simplified way: "I. petri martiris quomodo conduxit aerem super populos precaldem."
- 165 Both images differ in smaller details from the text. First, Peter did not visit the sick but rather the man was carried to the saint. The second image unifies two miracles. Once the saint healed the son of a nobleman with his cloak, the next time the cloak itself was enough to heal the father. These modifications are clearly the results of the translation from text to image.
- 166 Graesse, 277–281, Maggioni, 421–442; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 254–266.
- 167 The tomb of the saint, produced by Giovanni di Balducci in 1339 in S. Eustorgio in Milan, also preferred the miracles: besides the scenes represented in the codex, the entombment, a posthumous miracle (saving a ship), canonization and elevation are depicted. Alce 1952, 14–15.
- 168 The cult of Demetrius flourished in the fourteenth century, partly because in 1246 the Greeks re-conquered Thessaloniki. The local people were accused during a counsel in 1337–38 that they venerate Demetrius more than Christ. Cf. Vasiliev 1950.
- 169 In contrast to the pictorial tradition, it happens by a sword and not a lance, cf. Mistra, fresco in H. Demetrios, end of thirteenth century, Volbach–Lafontaine-Dosogne 1968, fig. 182. The text of the legend also mentions a sword.
- 170 "VIII. quomodo per anulum suum et palium quod tangebant homines curabantur"
- 171 Györfy 1977, 47; KMTL 460–461 (M. Takács).
- 172 LCI vol. 6, 45 (J. Myslivec) does not know about the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Western representations of the saint are mentioned in the St Anno shrine in Siegburg (end of the twelfth century, known after a drawing from the eighteenth century), a stained glass window in Strasbourg (thirteenth century) and a painting from L'Ortolano (London, National Gallery, first half of the sixteenth century), in which he is depicted as an minor character in the martyrdom of St Sebastian. Being the patron saint of the donor, the saint portrayed in the dedication page of the Néksej

- Bible (Washington, Library of Congress, Pre-Acc. 1, vol I, fol. 5v) is probably Demetrius.
- 173 Xyngopulos 1970.
- 174 Hutter 1978, no. 1, 1–33.
- 175 Such elements are: Demetrius in front of Maximianus, the scorpion miracle, the fight of Nestor, the execution of Nestor, the death of Demetrius, and his burial.
- 176 Scarcely more than two pages: Graesse, 484–486; Maggioni, 747–750.
- 177 Julianus is represented with a halo which cannot refer to the *apostata* emperor. Nevertheless, a St Julianus is also known who, according to a prophecy, would kill his parents, which he did. He did penitence in Provence, where he recognized Christ in the leper he took over the river Gard by a stormy night (Farmer 1978, 226–22). Surprisingly there is no sign of his liturgical veneration before the late Middle Ages, no relics are known. His story is told by Jean de Mailly, Vincent de Beauvais and in the *Golden Legend*, furthermore in the stained glass windows of Chartres and Rouen in the thirteenth century (Manhes-Deremble 1993, 78 ff.). In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* he is probably represented in the knowledge of the *Golden Legend* but with an erroneous identification.
- 178 All the converted people are represented in the image by a ruler; the inscription simply mentions a king and queen: “VI. quomodo baptizabat regem cum uxore.”
- 179 LCI vol. 6, 86–87 (K. Zimmermann); Kaftal T, 321–324 (two images from the fifteenth century).
- 180 For his iconography see Lajta 1954, Pietrusiński 1968, Śnieżyńska-Stolot 1972.
- 181 *Legende sanctorum regni Hungariae in Lombardica Historia non contente*, Strassburg, ca. 1486; Venice, 1498. Its Stanislaw legend is a version of the *Vita maior*.
- 182 BHL 7833–35. *Vita sancti Stanislai cracoviensis episcopi (Vita maior)*. Auctore fratre Vincentio de ordine fratrum praedicatorum. Edited: MPH IV (1884), Wojciech Ketrzynski, 319–438, the text on pp. 362–438. For the single scenes: I: I/8. (369), II: II/3. (375–376), III–IV: II/19. (387), V–VI: II/20. (388–389), VII: II/21. (389), VIII: III/10. (402).
- 183 The dating of the legend varies between the end of the twelfth century and 1261. Cf. *Hagiografia polska* 1972, 419–455.
- 184 A twelfth century Swedish baptismal font from Tryde may represent two scenes from the life of Stanislaw, sc. the judgment and the resuscitation of Peter. However, dating and iconographic identification are both debated. All these are connected to the great debate on the early cult and historical role of Stanislaw. Buczek 1979. See more recently: Rożnowska-Sadraei 2008.
- 185 *Sztuka Polska* I 1971, 222, fig. 643.
- 186 Kaftal T, 947–948, figs. 1060–61. These are not related to the images of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.
- 187 LCI vol. 8, 391 (F. Tschochner). Fragments of an altarpiece from Cracow produced by the circle of the Master of the Altarpiece of St John the Almsgiver ca. 1500 represent the punishment of the adulterous women, carving up his body, his burial and canonization. *L'Art à Cracovie* 1964, no. 24–25, 75–76, Table 11. An altarpiece from Kobylin in 1518 dedicated three panels to the story of Peter and also represented the martyrdom and the carving up. *Sztuka sakralna* 1958, figs. 129–130, 344–345. Cf. Labuda 1994, 97 ff, figs. 64–71.
- 188 *Miracula Sancti Stanislai*. Edited in: MPH IV (1884), Wojciech Ketrzynski, 285–318, the text is on pp. 292–318. XXXIII. caput: 310. The concordance of the two sources: 289–291. However, the identification is not indisputable. The major problem is that first 6 chapters and the end of the list of miracles are lost; and the *Vita Maior* does not follow the order of the *Miracula*.
- 189 “Beatus vero Gerhardus eos, quos lapidabant, indesinenter signo crucis insigniebat, more prothomartiris Stephani, primus in Pannonia martir positus in terra genibus, clamavit voce magna, dicens: ‘Domine Iesu Christe, ne statuas illis hoc peccatum, quia nesciunt, quid faciunt’.” *Legenda maior*, SRH II 477–478.
- 190 *Legenda minor*, in: SRH II 471–472.
- 191 SRH II. 472.
- 192 SRH II. 472–473.
- 193 SRH II. 477–478.
- 194 This scene is known only by the *Legenda maior*: SRH II. 502–503. First mentioned in the chronicle of Simon Kézai, 56. caput, SRH I 178. In the debate of the relationship of the two legends of Gerhard the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* cannot help since the first version of the *Legenda maior* is earlier than the fourteenth century. For the dating: Csóka 1967, 113–154, 263–328, 404–405; Csóka 1974; Györffy 1977, 295–296 (they all regard the eleventh century *Legenda minor* the source of the thirteenth-fourteenth century *Legenda maior*), Horváth 1954, 158–187; Horváth 1974; Jelenits 1984; Érszegi 1983, 208–9. (The eleventh-twelfth century first version of the *Legenda maior* precedes the *Legenda minor*). A recent summary of the debate: Klaniczay–Madas 1996, 113–114 and 138–140.
- 195 *Legenda minor*: SRH II. 478–479. The *Legenda maior* is more extensive: SRH II. 504.
- 196 Ladislas XIX (L 137c). SRH II. 522. A related motif can be found in the legend of James the Greater: the wild bulls peacefully pull the coach with the corpse of the saint: XXXVI (L 55d).
- 197 Such scenes may have decorated the shrine of St Gerhard in Csanád, ordered by Queen Elisabeth the Elder in 1361. This was probably similar to the shrine of St Simeon in Zadar (1377). *MoMT* II 1987, 205, 250, 496–7.
- 198 Graesse, 66–67, Maggioni, 103; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 60.
- 199 Graesse, 67, Maggioni, 103, Ryan 1993, vol. I, 60.
- 200 Graesse, 67, Maggioni, 103, Ryan 1993, vol. I, 61.
- 201 Graesse, 67, Maggioni, 103, Ryan 1993, vol. I, 61.
- 202 It occurs in a stained glass window in Sens ca. 1190, which is full of unusual scenes; the mass is only one of the duties of Thomas as a prelate. Borenus 1932, 45. Cf. LCI vol. 8, 486. (D. H. Farmer).
- 203 Although some important sermons of Gerhard are mentioned by the legends (cf. Madas 2002, 38–48), none of them can be identified with the one represented. Instead, the excellent preacher is emphasized in such a way, without concrete reference, which is unusual in the codex.
- 204 For the Hungarian cult of Thomas Becket see Györffy 1969. The liturgical texts of Thomas influenced the cult of St Ladislas; see Mezey 1980, 41–42.
- 205 The actuality of the cult of Gerhard in the fourteenth century is demonstrated by the compilation of the *Legenda maior*, the new Gerhard patronium of the monastery in Csanád, and the new shrine in 1361. Wehli 1986, 56–57.
- 206 Graesse, 22, Maggioni, 38. This scene is quite frequent in the Italian iconographic tradition, see: Kaftal T, 756, no. 2; Kaftal CS, 801, no. 1; Kaftal NE, 765, no. 1; Kaftal NW, 513, no. 1. In Byzantine tradition it was known in the twelfth century but lost its significance by the early fourteenth century. Ševčenko 1983, 68–69.
- 207 For the political significance of the legend, see Traeger 1970.
- 208 L 115a: I. Siluestri. quomodo ducebatur in carcerem.
- 209 For this image type see the fourth chapter in Part 4.
- 210 Graesse, 70, Maggioni, 109; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 63.
- 211 Graesse, 72, Maggioni, 111; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 64.

- 212 Graesse, 72, Maggioni, 111; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 65.
- 213 Graesse, 72, Maggioni, 111; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 70.
- 214 Graesse, 72, Maggioni, 111; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 70.
- 215 Kaftal CS, 1036, no. 13: Mutignano, S. Silvestro, altarpiece, Abruzzi School, fifteenth century, fig. 1209. In the picture only one Jew is baptized by the pope although all the Jewish scholars converted together with the judges and St Helena. The last figures cannot be identified in the miniature of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* either.
- 216 This resembles a scene in the legend of Donatus, defeating a dragon living in a spring (also represented as a lake, L 106a).
- 217 Graesse, 78–79, Maggioni, 118–119; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 71.
- 218 Graesse, 191, Maggioni, 288. This picture is related to other scene of hermitage (L 88a, 101b, 111b), which is also emphasized by the inscription (quomodo duxerunt ipsum extra de heremo). The story is also connected to another occasion when Gregory went for a mission to England but when forced by the people the pope called him back. Graesse 190, Maggioni 287–288. It should be noted that Gregory is represented with a papal mitre even though he was elected later.
- 219 The consecration and enthronement is not described in the *Golden Legend*.
- 220 “St. Melanius comforts the poor; St. Melanius visits a sick abbot; St. Melanius strikes the abbot on the head; Devils issue from the corpse, which is mourned by two monks.” Information kindly provided by Zsombor Jékely.
- 221 The man with red robe clearly wears papal mitre. In the other case, the usual pattern of the mitre is missing, but the shape of the headgear is closer to the papal than to the episcopal mitre. We shall return to the problem in Part IV.
- 222 Unfortunately he publishes it with a wrong inv. no. The correct no. is M.360.c or more recently: M.360.25. Corrected by Török 1992, 569.
- 223 Levárdy 1973, comment to page 117: “3–6 / The *Golden Legend* tells many miracles from the life of Gregory. It cannot be decided with certainty which of them was selected by the *Legendary*. The last image represents the death of Gregory.”
- 224 Graesse, 199, Maggioni, 301. Thus Levárdy was incorrect in identifying the last scene with the death of Gregory.
- 225 Graesse, 194, Maggioni, 293.
- 226 The Gregory cycle of a codex of Weingarten, ca. 1190–95, arranging the pictures similarly to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, follows a different logic. *Suevia Sacra* 1973, no. 189, 178. Illustration.
- 227 Kaftal T, 461, no. 2: Florence, S. Maria Novella, fresco by the Mater of the Capella Gondi.
- 228 Kaftal T, 461, no. 3: the same chapel; Kaftal NE, 385, no. 3: Bologna, Museo Civico No. 262, predella, Bologna-Ferrara School, fifteenth century.
- 229 Kaftal NE, 385, no. 1: Bologna, the same predella.
- 230 Although this type became popular after the second half of the fifteenth century, a fourteenth century example is known from Northern Italy: Verona, fresco of S. Pietro Maggiore, Kaftal NE, 385.
- 231 Croquison 1962, 249–262. Cf. Eberlein 1995, 25–52.
- 232 See the analysis of the hermitage scenes, Part IV, Chapter 2.
- 233 Graesse, 250, Maggioni, 379, Ryan 1993, vol. I, 229.
- 234 It is represented in the altar frontal of Volvinus, S. Ambrogio, Milan; later examples: Kaftal T, 24, no. 1: Rome, San Clemente, fresco of Masolino, see also Vayer 1962, 183, fig. 24; Kaftal NW, 36, no. 1: Bergognone, predella, ca. 1490, Basel, Kunstmuseum.
- 235 Beside the altar frontal of Volvinus, it is usual in late fifteenth century North-Western Italian cycles: Kaftal NW, 40., no. 7: Bergognone predella, Torino, Galleria Sabauda, and the fresco of Bernardone Butinone and Bernardino Zenale in Milan, S. Pietro in Gessate, Capella Griffi (figs. 44 and 45).
- 236 In the fresco of Masolino in San Clemente, Rome, there are soldiers in the election scene too, Vayer 1962, 183 ff. and fig. 25.
- 237 Graesse, 250–251, Maggioni, 379, Ryan 1993, vol. I, 229.
- 238 “III. quomodo praedicabat populo. et angelus tenebat eum,” cf. Graesse, 252, Maggioni, 381, Ryan 1993, vol. I, 230.
- 239 Graesse, 252, Maggioni, 382, Ryan 1993, vol. I, 231.
- 240 For the unsuccessful kidnapping of Ambrose see Kaftal NW, 40, no. 10–11, from the quoted Milanese fresco cycle.
- 241 Graesse, 253–254, Maggioni, 383–384; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 233.
- 242 Vayer 1962, 196, fig. 29.
- 243 Graesse, 255, Maggioni, 385. For comparable burial scenes see Part IV!
- 244 Kaftal T no. 6: Rome, Masolino’s fresco in San Clemente; Kaftal NW no. 26: part of the Milanese fresco cycle. This one also represents the burial, bishop Simplicianus depositing the relics to Sts Gervasius and Protasius (Kaftal NW, no. 27).
- 245 Vayer 1962, 199.
- 246 Graesse, 252 and 255–256; the first occurrence is regarded to be a later interpolation by Maggioni, 382, cf. 388.
- 247 In the first 2000 manuscripts of the *Vaticani latini* there are 95 representations of Augustine, exclusively depicting him writing or teaching.
- 248 Among their rich literature on Augustine, the most relevant: Courcelle 1965 and Courcelle 1968. The quoted sentence (criticizing Gillet, Mâle, Réau and Salet) is from the first book, 13.
- 249 Most important are the shrine of the saint in Pavia, San Pietro in Ciel d’oro (ordered in 1362 by Bonifazio Botigella from the pupils of Giovanni Balduccino); Padua, Eremitani, frescos of Guariento, 1338 (among its 5 scenes there is not a single one in common with the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*); Fabriano, Augustinian church, frescoes from the middle of the fourteenth century; Gubbio, Augustinian church, a fresco cycle of 25 scenes, after 1400. See also Kaftal T, 100–112, CS, 126–146, NW, 101–110, NE, 95–102. A recent discussion of the iconography of the saint is Iturbe 2001, 19–125; here the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is the earliest mentioned codex.
- 250 A contemporaneous French *Legenda aurea* manuscript also selected this scene for illustrating the legend (Vat. Reg. lat. 534, fol. 158r).
- 251 The author of the inscriptions underlined this similarity that both scenes were interpreted as writing the gospels: “Luce ewangeliste quomodo scribit omnia ewangelia” (L 78a); “Augustini quomodo scribebat ewangelia”. Cf. the inscription of Jerome: “Jeronimi quomodo scribebat ewangelia” (L 121a).
- 252 “Vestimenta eius et calceamenta et ornamenta alia nec nitida nimium nec abiecta plurimum, sed ex moderato et competenti habitu erant.” Graesse, 554–555, Maggioni, 850, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 122.
- 253 Graesse, 562, Maggioni, 861, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 129.
- 254 Graesse, 564, Maggioni, 865, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 131.
- 255 Graesse, 565, Maggioni, 865–866, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 131.
- 256 On the Erfurt window the saint is represented in episcopal ornat beside the sick provost (A10), who celebrates a mass in the next panel in honor to Augustine (B10). The story is divided by the relief of the saint’s shrine in Pavia. Thus it can be suspected that this image was created by condensing two compositions, similarly to a scene in the St George legend (L 90d, see above).
- 257 These episodes are rarely depicted even in the fifteenth century (the pilgrims are represented in a Florentine manuscript, in the panel painting of

- the cathedral of Carlisle, and in the carpets of Edinburgh; the healing of the provost is depicted in San Gimignano and in Carlisle, cf. Courcelle 1968). Note that neither LCI, nor Kaftal quotes parallels to these posthumous miracles. The source of the cycle of Carlisle is also the *Golden Legend*, or an illustrated manuscript of it. Colledge 1999.
- 258 Hackett 1999; Gill 2005, 40–44.
- 259 Cf. Meiss 1963, 157.
- 260 In the first 2000 manuscripts of the *Vaticani latini* there are 101 representations of Jerome, exclusively depicting him writing or reading.
- 261 “totus semper in lectione, totus in libris est, non die, non nocte requiescit, aut legit aliquid aut semper scribit.” Graesse, 658, Maggioni, 1009; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 215–216. Cf. his words summarizing and evaluating the legend: “translationem scripturarum quinquaginta quinque annis et sex mensibus desudauit”, Graesse, 655, Maggioni, 1005, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 211–212.
- 262 Russo 1987, 51 ff.
- 263 Caput LXXV, quoted by Meiss 1963, 158. and Russo 1987, 62, see also 37 ff.
- 264 Russo 1987, 42 ff.
- 265 “Post hoc in ore spelunce ubi dominus iacuit monumentum sibi construxit, in quo explevis nonaginta octo annis et sex mensibus sepultus fuit.” Graesse, 657, Maggioni, 1008, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 215.
- 266 E.g. Kaftal NE, 501, no. 39; T, 532, no. 9, NW, 368, no. 1.
- 267 Russo 1987, 31 and 38.
- 268 “Dum autem esset annorum XXIX in Romana ecclesia cardinalis presbiter ordinatus est. Mortuo autem Liberio papa Ieronimus dignus summo sacerdotio ab omnibus acclamatur; sed dum quorundam clericorum et monachorum lasciuia increparet, illi nimium indignati et insidias parauerunt, sed et per uestem muliebrem, ut ait Iohannes Beleth et Vincentius, ab eis turpiter est derisus. Nam cum Ieronimus ad matutinum solito more surgeret uestem mulieris quam emuli iuxta lectum posuerant reperit suamque esse credens induit et in ecclesiam sic processit. Hoc autem emuli faciebant ut mulierem habere in thalamo crederetur. Quod ille uidens tante eorum uesanie locum dedit et ad Gregorium Nazianzenum Constantinopolitane urbis episcopum peruenit.” Graesse, 654, Maggioni, 1004, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 212.
- 269 L 121b: II. “quomodo fuit electus in papam.”
- 270 Kaftal knows no Italian parallel. LCI vol. 6, 527–528 quotes only the Belles Heures of the Limburg Brothers, ca. 1410.
- 271 E.g. in the cases of Carolingian Bibles, see the First Bible of Charles the Bald, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms. lat. 1. f. 3v.
- 272 As a Hungarian saint he is analyzed by Karl 1925, 298 and Levárdy 1973, 36. Although the cult of Martin is intensive from the eleventh century, the local elements are not emphasized in the image cycle. Note that even in the seal of the St Martin Abbey of Pannonhalma Benedict was represented instead of Martin. Sölymos 1981; Marosi 1981. Cf. Takács 1992, 75–76, no. 34. (dated to 1230–50); Mons Sacer 1996 I, 503–4, no. IV, 6; probably from the time of Abbot Uros († ca. 1242) (Imre Takács).
- 273 Graesse, 741–742, Maggioni, 1134–35.
- 274 In other cases the persons incognito are easily identifiable, e.g. Francis and Louis of Toulouse embarrassed Christ in the person of a leper (Pa and Bc); the devil appears in the form of James the Greater to a youth (L 58a).
- 275 “Audiens uero quod beatus Hylarius de exilio rediret obuam ei profectus est et iuxta Pictauium monasterium ordinauit. Ubi cum quendam adhuc catechumenum haberet parumper a monasterio discedens et rediens reperit eum sine baptismo defunctum. Quem in cellam ducens et super eius corpus se prosternens ipsum sua oratione ad uitam pristinam reuocauit.” Graesse, 743, Maggioni, 1140; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 293.
- 276 Cf. Sebastian I–II (L 84a–b), Augustine IV (L 120b), or for resuscitation: Mathew VI (L 66b), Francis NYd and John the Evangelist IV (L 41d), but according to the inscription here also “curauit”.
- 277 “Alium insuper qui laqueo uitam finierat uite restituit.” Graesse, 743, Maggioni, 1141; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 294.
- 278 Cf. James the Greater XLIV (L 57d).
- 279 James the Greater LVI (L 60d) and Mary Magdalene XV (L 169c).
- 280 “Ordinatus itaque episcopus” Graesse, 743, Maggioni, 1141; “Martin was ordained bishop” Ryan 1993, vol. II, 1995, 294.
- 281 Consecrations of bishops in the legendary: James the Less II (L 71b), Donatus V (L 105c), Stanislaw I (L 107a), Gerhard III (L 111c), Thomas Becket III (L 113c), Ambrose II (118b), Brice I (L 154a), Remy I (L 162a), III (Genebaldus, L 162c) and VIII (Latrus, L 163d), Hilary II (L 164b); the consecration of popes is very similar: Clement I (L 101a), Gregory the Great II (L 116d), Jerome (!) II (L 121b).
- 282 Vayer–Levárdy 1972, 71–83; Levárdy 1988, Table II. Morello, in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 13–23.
- 283 Levárdy 1988. Morello in his op. cit. reconstructed the codex omitting quire 17.
- 284 Cycles starting at the end of a quire and continued in the beginning of the next one: George, Cosmas and Damian, Remy and most probably Catherine.
- 285 First noticed and dated by Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 18. See in more detailed form in Part I.
- 286 Whether the middle two pages of the last quire, i.e. the first two pages of the legend of Mary Magdalene belonged to this seventeenth century state, I cannot judge. The last three pages started with 12 but they can be reconstructed equally as 120–122 or 122–124.
- 287 NYa–d; Boehm 1995, Török 1992 and Török 1993.
- 288 Ricci 1913, no. 72–73, 26 and Table X. This page was connected to the legend of Remy or Martin by Harrsen without further explanation (Harrsen 1949, 66). Remy can be excluded because of the content of his legend as well as formal argument (his cycle is not fragmented).
- 289 Missing pages may have belonged to the following saints: Paul, Dominic, Louis of Toulouse, Eustace, probably Martin and Stephen the King. See Part I, Chapter 4.
- 290 Starting from another angle, we got similar results. As we have noticed there are three legends related to popes or bishops (altogether 20) and fragmented at the end: Martin, Nicholas and Louis of Toulouse.
- 291 “72. Scènes de la vie d’un saint Evêque. 1° Le saint prêche devant les enfants. 2° Il chasse un démon du corps d’un possédé. 3° Trois saints personnages lui apparaissent en songe. 4° Il passe en se détournant devant une maison incendiée.” Ricci 1913, 26.
- 292 “Nam cum in quodam fano ignem misisset, in domo proxima adherente agente uento flamma ferebatur. Tunc Martinus super tectum domus ascendens obuam se aduenientibus flammis inseruit. Mox contra uim uenti flamma retorquetur ut conflictus quidam compugnantium inter se elementorum uideretur.” Graesse, 744, Maggioni, 1142. “Once, when he had set fire to a temple, the wind was blowing the flames toward an adjacent house. Martin went up on the roof of the house and faced the approaching flames. Immediately the fire turned against the wind, so that there seemed to be a conflict between the two elements.” Ryan 1993, Vol. II, 295.
- 293 “quadam uice, dum Martinus in cella solus sederet et Seuerus et Gallus eius discipuli pre foribus expectarent, subito mirabili concussi horrore plures in cella audiunt insimul colloquentes. De quo cum postmodum Martinum requisissent, ille ait: Dicam uobis, sed uos, queso, nulli dicatis.

- Agnes, Thecla et Maria ad me uenerunt. Nec tantum illo die, sed sepius se ab eis confessus est uisitari et Petrum et Paulum apostolos a se sepe uideri perhibuit." Graesse, 745, Maggioni, 1143–44; Madas 1990, 273; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 295.
- 294 "Multe potestatis erga demones pellendos. Sepe enim ipsos demones ex hominibus expulit ... Multe subtilitatis ad eos cognoscendos. Demones enim ita sibi conspicabiles reddebantur ut aperte ab ipso sub quacumque ymagine uiderentur." Graesse, 747, Maggioni, 1146–47, Ryan 1993, Vol. II, 297.
- 295 Cf. Demetrius I (L 109a).
- 296 Manhes-Deremble 1993, 330.
- 297 Cf. Farmer 1978, 265–266.
- 298 Hoch 1987.
- 299 Note that almost the same tendencies can be observed without the doubtful second page.
- 300 Ca. 1290, Bern, Historisches Museum. St Elisabeth of Hungary is added to the three Holy Kings of Hungary. For the problem of the early cult and iconography of the Holy Kings of Hungary, see Kerny 2007 and Nástásoiu 2010.
- 301 Cf. the analysis of Tünde Wehli in: MoMT II 1987, 206–8 and her other works cited below; Marosi 1995, 69.
- 302 On the manuscript: Gerevich 1957; Hoffmann–Wehli 1992, 221; for the hypothesis see Levárdy 1973, 44–46; Wehli 1986, 59 and Wehli 1994a, 113.
- 303 The dream of Géza, Baptism of Stephen, Coronation of Stephen, Conversion of the Hungarians. Such a series fits better to the beginning of a longer cycle.
- 304 First emphasized by Lukcsics 1930, 6–7. It should be noted that he understood the second image in a simplifying way, not noticing that the main subject is the recognition of Maurus, the most excellent monk, and not only the love towards the brothers.
- 305 This scene is known from the altarpiece in the St Martin church of Mensola, near Florence, dated to 1391. Wehli 1994b.
- 306 According to Lukcsics 1930, 7 and Dercsényi 1941, 140 the legend is fragmented because the last scene is not called *Ultima* in the inscription. This cannot be accepted on the basis of codicological observations.
- 307 Madzar 1931, Horváth 1954, 153–157, Bollók 1986.
- 308 Erdélyi 1930, Csóka 1967, 199–226, Klaniczay–Madas 1996, 114–117, cf. Érszegi 1983, 205.
- 309 The oath of celibacy is the subject of the only subject specific to Emeric in the high altar of the church of Mateóc (Matejovce, Slovakia).
- 310 There is a consensus in this question, however, it is regarded as one-sided by Török 1986, 40. In the late thirteenth century text of his office this is the main motif, see Madas 1992a, 279–285.
- 311 Klaniczay–Madas 1996, 116.
- 312 *Képes Krónika*, 37 and 140: The birth of St Stephen and Louis the Great.
- 313 III. quomodo orabat in ecclesiam et illuminata fuit ecclesia. The crucial element is not mentioned!
- 314 There are two cases when the soul of the resurrected returns to the body: L 27d and L 66a. It has been claimed that the death of Francis is a similar case, see the analysis of the legend of Francis.
- 315 Györffy 1977, 392–393; Török 1986, 40.
- 316 Karl 1916, 60–61, Karl 1925, Lukcsics 1930.
- 317 The dating of the legend and the chronicle is much debated. There are arguments that the legend from the late twelfth or early thirteenth century precedes the relevant parts of the chronicle. See Kristó 1994, 98–104, Klaniczay–Madas 1996, 117–121, 135–138, Klaniczay 2001, Klaniczay 2002, 173. On the opposite side: Hóman 1925; Horváth 1954, 190, 239, Csóka 1967, 526–527; Gerics 1974, 113–136; Gerics–Ladányi 2001, 20–31. See also Szovák 2000, 117–145. The St Ladislav legend of the *Érdy-kódex* exemplifies the influence of the chronicles on the legends. *Nyelvemléktár V*. Budapest 1876, 81–94.
- 318 This idea is fully developed by Lukcsics 1930.
- 319 For the relationship of the two saints there are several attempts. However, as the texts of the legends differ considerably, their depiction cannot be homogenized. The parallelism originated from the comparable characters of the two saints and is not merely imitation, see Barna 1992, 111. The origin of the argument: Holik 1923. It has been rejected by Horváth 1928.
- 320 Ladislav as the personification of the heroic-knightly ethics: Kurcz 1988, 210–213.
- 321 *Képes Krónika*, c. 131, SRH I 404–405.
- 322 Legenda c. 4, SRH II 518.
- 323 The motif of the procession is represented in the cycle of Emeric (L 132a). — Lukcsics 1930, 17 and 21 interpreted the procession as the thanksgiving after the defeat of the Cumans (*Képes Krónika* c. 134, SRH I 404); Kerny 1993, 224, note 11 connected the first three images to the triple coronation of Charles I of Hungary. None of these explanations seem to be convincing.
- 324 Legenda c. 4–5, SRH II 517–520, *Képes Krónika* c. 131, SRH I 403–406.
- 325 Legenda c. 6, SRH II 520.
- 326 Lukcsics 1930, 22. Cf. *Képes Krónika* c. 108, SRH I 373.
- 327 In the case of Ladislav the crown is an attribute, similarly to the fresco cycles; the changes in the church hierarchy of the clerics are usually better indicated by their vestments (Martin, Donatus); Gregory the Great is an exception since he is represented wearing a tiara without his election (L 116c).
- 328 The inscription: "quomodo cremabatur domus bissonorum per exercitum." Cf. *Képes Krónika* c. 104, SRH I 369–370.
- 329 Legenda c. 5. SRH II. 519. It is also mentioned by the office "Diuturnis excubiis / Instanter in ecclesiis / Deum obsecrabat", Török 1980, 150; for the interpretation of the office see Klaniczay–Madas 1996, 120.
- 330 *Chronicon Henrici de Mügeln*, c. 36, SRH II 177. Cf. Karl 1916, 61.
- 331 *Képes Krónika* c. 102–103, SRH I 366–369.
- 332 Bonfini 1936, 58, 2.3.131: "Nonnulli virginem a tergo Chunum cum Ladislao colluctantem surrepta securi percussisse ac assertori suo succenturiatam fuisse fuerunt." Cf. Kulcsár 1967, 162–163.
- 333 Although some authors see the Holy Virgin in the saved girl (Lukcsics 1930, 18, Levárdy 1973, 136, László 1993, 48, Wehli 2008), this is not convincing. This is not supported neither the textual background, nor the visual tradition of the codex. Those scenes in which Mary, Jesus or the devil appear incognito, their real identity is explicitly revealed (e.g. Bc: Jesus as leper, L 58a: the devil as James the Greater), cf. Szakács 2011d. The picture in the Ladislav cycles can be connected to the text of the *Képes Krónika*, c. 102: "Postmodum divina miseratione a vulnere illo cito est sanatus." SRH I 368; Marosi 1995, 201.
- 334 This is not the place to present the two different interpretations of the origin of this story. One branch connected it to nomadic traditions (László 1944, 416–429, Vargyas 1980, 9–18; László 1993), another one to courtly and knightly topoi (Vizkelety 1981, 243–275; Tóth 1995, 147–148). However, there is a consensus that the story has secular origin.
- 335 Legenda c. 5, SRH II 519–520. Cf. the legend of Mary Magdalene, L 168b.
- 336 Legenda c. 7, SRH II 522. The Bohemian campaign is also described in the chronicle without mentioning the peace, *Képes Krónika* c. 140, SRH I 418–419. Ladislav is not only signing peace but putting end to an inner conflict of the Czechs.
- 337 SRH II 522–523. Cf. James the Greater, L 55d, Gerhard, 112c.

- 338 Usually the burial scene is included in the cycles, though the peaceful death of the saint is also known (Francis, Louis of Toulouse) as well as the foretelling of the death (Giles, Dominic). Only the legend of Bernard contains both the foretelling of the death and the burial (L 143c-d).
- 339 Although a more concrete, narrative textual background would be more appropriate, this is hard to find. The explanation of Lukcsics and Levárdy with the miracle of the man with bad chin is not convincing (Lukcsics 1930, 18–19, Levárdy 1973, 138). Cf. Marosi 1995, 201.
- 340 L 56a. Its inscription (XXXVII. quomodo uenerunt populi orare ad sepulchrum) is as general as in the picture in the Ladislav cycle (XXII. quomodo populus adorabat circa sepulchrum). The last scene in the Stanislaw legend is somewhat more concrete but comparable (L 108d).
- 341 The miracle: Legenda c. 10, SRH II 524–525. The evaluation is in the last sentence of the previous *caput*: “De mutis autem, surdis et claudis, per ipsius merita sanatis vulgaritas et quasi habilitas miraculorum inter gaudia loqui prohibet et ad insueta potius enarranda transmittit.” SRH II 524.
- 342 L 132d. The miracle of the saint’s tomb is represented only in the case of Stanislaw and Mary Magdalene, L 108d and 169d. See this problem in Part II.
- 343 Some figures after Kaftal: the donning of robes is represented for Benedict 6, Anthony 2, Bernard and Dominic 1–1, Louis of Toulouse 5 times (Kaftal T, CS, NE, NW).
- 344 Only Bernard is represented with the Eucharist, which is important because of the miracle (L 143b).
- 345 Once Bernard, also a great theologian, is represented in dictating, though here again the miracle is the central motif (L 143a).
- 346 So far we have seen such a scene in the legend of Ladislav (L 137b); we shall meet the motif in the cycles of Giles, Alexis and Mary Magdalene (L 156d, 158c, 168c).
- 347 Graesse, 655; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 213.
- 348 For the discussion of cycle of Benedict in the legendary, see Madas 1996.
- 349 In the legend of Benedict the ascetic motifs are stronger in the fourteenth century, Dal Prà 1982, 42.
- 350 This is not only the essential part of the cycles but often represented in itself. Dubler 1953, 106. Typically this scene is representing the saint in the Calvary altarpiece of Thomas de Coloswar, 1427 (Esztergom, Keresztény Múzeum).
- 351 Vol. II of the Dialogues of St Gregory the Great, chapter VIII. The *Golden Legend* follows this text.
- 352 Vol. II of the Dialogues of St Gregory the Great, chapter XXXIII: “Sed contra hoc quod uoluit, in uirtute omnipotentis dei ex feminae pectore miraculum inuenit. Nec mirum quod plus illo femina, quae diu fratrem uidere cupiebat, in eodem tempore ualuit. Quia enim iuxta iohannis uocem deus caritas est, iusto ualde iudicio illa plus potuit, quae amplius amauit.” Based on CLCLT.
- 353 The story of the nude girls is known for Kaftal only in one cycle: Badia a Pasigiano, frescoes from the fifteenth century (Kaftal T, 156.), Dubler enumerates somewhat more (1953, 115). For the miracle of the bottle Kaftal quotes the same cycle (T, 157, fig. 177), Dubler does not mention such a representation (1953, 120). In the fourteenth-fifteenth century Tuscan tradition only scene I, II and IV are known, Paolini 1982, 127–134.
- 354 Cf. Dubler 1953, 134.
- 355 Note that after this the legend describes the death of Scholastica and after a while that of Benedict. Therefore this image can rightly close the cycle, even if it does not directly evoke death.
- 356 Cf. Cutler 1957, 112.
- 357 On the basis of Kaftal T, CS, NW, NE. Note that the first cycles are known from the second half of the fourteenth century, the first flourishing period is between 1370–1420. Meiffret 2004 (with no mention of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*).
- 358 The most important late medieval cycles are the stained glass windows of Heilsbronn and Altenberg (second half of fifteenth century and early sixteenth century). Pfaffrath 1984, with the photos of all the Altenberg windows. This is expanded with single representations: Pfaffrath 1990.
- 359 Paris, Bibl. Arsenal, ms. 268, fol. 2v; the next is from the second half of the thirteenth century, Dovai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 838, fol. 103r. Dal Prà 1990, 40.
- 360 Dal Prà 1991, no. I. Two further examples (nos. II and III) are from the fifteenth century and further parallels are even later. Bernard seemingly had no special iconographic tradition in Italy in the time of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. The story of the prince of Aquitania, as the triumph of the Eucharist, is represented in Orvieto, Duomo, Capella del Corporale, 1357–64, Ugolino di Prete Ilario, Dal Prà 1990, 40.
- 361 Enumeration is after Dal Prà 1991, XX. *Lactatio* was popular in Iberian territories in the fourteenth-fifteenth centuries. *Amplexus* was created in the fourteenth century north of the Alps. Dal Prà 1990, 74–75.
- 362 Among the examples mentioned by Kaftal only the fresco quoted above resembles to the codex. Kaftal CS, 193, no. 2, fig. 219.
- 363 This picture seems to be significant because it is the only basis for imagining how the lost scene of the Nativity would have looked, if there was one.
- 364 The inscription (quomodo lacebat cum sorore sua. et occulte surgens posuit se inaquam [!]. ut fornicacio sibi non eueniret) is misleading, since the legend does not identify the tempting woman with his sister. Dal Prà 1990b, 352.
- 365 Cf. Farmer 1978, 40.
- 366 Stephany 1987, 224.
- 367 This image was interpreted as the conversion of the German Conradus by Levárdy 1973, 145. The explanation of Edit Madas as the forecast of the death is more convincing (I thank Edit Madas for this information).
- 368 Levárdy 1988 Table II positioned the Morgan folio immediately after the first page of Dominic and left an empty place after that. Similar reconstruction in Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 17. It is improbable, although not impossible, that between Dominic and Francis there was a one-page long legend. Comparing to the 16 scenes of Frances, a 12-scene long cycle would be more appropriate for Dominic.
- 369 Conbianchi 2003, 65 notes that this is the only case when the vision is part of the narrative cycle in the Trecento.
- 370 Kaftal T, no.1–2, 6, cf. 12, CS, no. 1–2, 4, 7, NE, no.1, NW, no. 4. Cf. Cannon 1998, who calls the attention to the lack of the miracle of the bread.
- 371 Levárdy 1988 Table II and Morello–Stamm–Betz positioned the American folio after the Vatican one.
- 372 Levárdy 1973, 151 interpreted this image as the veneration of the cross of the Golgotha and blessing to the crusaders. It was correctly identified with the death scene by Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 96.
- 373 Maybe this is the reason why the meaning of this scene was not correctly identified in the inscription.
- 374 For the canonization and early cult of Louis of Toulouse see Toynbee 1929 and Pásztor 1955. See also Bader–Starr 1986.
- 375 For five scenes (Bd, L 147a–d) the legend edited by Henricus Sedulius can offer textual background (*Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. III. 806–822, esp. 808–809, 812, 816, 817–818, 818), two stories (Bb–c) are known from the work of Bartholomeus de Pisa (*Analecta Franciscana* IV. 316, 312), and the first miracle (Ba) is quoted after the copy of P. Aroldus by Joannes Pinus (*Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. III. 795).
- 376 The only common point with the predella of Simone Martini is the treatment of the poor; the same is represented by Taddeo Gaddi in S. Croce,

- Florence. In the late fourteenth century frescoes of Albizzate among the 21 scenes only no. 18 shows similarities presenting the cross to Louis lying in the bed. For the miracle of the fish and the resuscitation of the boy only fifteenth century examples are mentioned by Kaftal, T and CS; Bader-Starr 1986; for Simone's predella: Gardner 1976.
- 377 The discovery of the pages was written by Török 2000a 359, Török 2000b 6, Török 2001, 419, Török 2002, 304. The page of the Louvre was first published by Bauer-Eberhardt 1993–96, 137–139, fig. 1. Since at that time I had no access to this publication, Gyöngyi Török was kind enough to serve me with the shelf-number in March 1997 when I had the chance to examine the folio personally. This time I was able to discover the real iconographic content of the page which was immediately revealed to Török. Since she kept the right of publication for herself, my identification was available only through the database presented in the exhibition *Három kódex* (Three manuscripts, Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, Budapest, 17 August to 17 November 2000). In the meantime the identification of the folio was the subject of erroneous attempts (as Bruno of Querfurt by Bauer-Eberhardt 1993–96), also accepted by Gyöngyi Török (lecture in the Országos Széchényi Könyvtár, 11th March 1998); later she published the page joining my opinion (see her publications mentioned above).
- 378 Thode 1934, 113–191.
- 379 Kaftal T, CS, NW, NE. In a separate but less complete volume: Kaftal 1950.
- 380 LCI vol. 6, 260–315 by Gerlach van 's-Hertogenbosch. This is a real monograph, presenting the sources and the legends, enumerating the single representations and the most important cycles (20 from Italy and 13 from other regions), and analyzing the 91 scenes with sources and occurrences. Only the bibliography is almost three columns.
- 381 Frugoni 1993.
- 382 Krüger 1992, Wolff 1996, Brooke 2006, Cook 1999.
- 383 Some recent titles: Zanardi 1996; Basile 2001; Barral i Altet 2010; Frugoni 2011.
- 384 Last: Franziskus 2011 and Francesco 2012. See also n. 387.
- 385 The only exception is Franz v. Assisi 1982, 547–548, no. 10.16 (E. Vavra), without underlining the iconographic specialties.
- 386 Barbara Drake Boehm wrote surprisingly of five pages of which two were missing: *Mirror* 1999, 145, no. 172. She did not know about the Paris page, although it has already been published by Bauer-Eberhardt 1993–96. The supposition of a fifth page is unfounded, for codicological reasons.
- 387 MS RF 29940.
- 388 *Legenda aurea*: “Quendam igitur leprosum obuium habens cum huiusmodi homines multum naturaliter abhorreret, diuini tamen memor oraculi accurrens in oscula eius ruit; et post hoc ille statim disparuit.” Graesse, 663, Maggioni, 1017, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 221.
- 389 “Nam inter omnia infelicia monstra mundi Franciscus leprosos naturaliter abhorrens, leprosum die quadam obuium habuit, cum iuxta Assisium equitaret. Qui licet sibi taedium non paruum ingereret et horrorem, ne tamen velut mandati transgressor datae fidei frangeret sacramentum, ad deosculandum eum, equo lapsus, accurrit. Cui cum manum quasi aliquid accepturus leprosus protenderet, pecuniam cum osculo reportavit. Et statim equum ascendens et huc et illuc se convertens, cum campus pateret undique liber, nullis obiectis obstaculis, leprosum illum minime vidit.” Thomas a Celano, *Vita secunda sancti Francisci* (II Cel), 9. Fontes Franciscani 1995, 451.
- 390 “Quadam itaque die, dum equitaret per planitiem, quae subiaceret civitati Assisii, leprosum quemdam habuit ovium, cuius inopinatus occursum ei non paruum incussit horrorem. Recurrens autem ad perfectionis mentem iam conceptae propositum et recolens, quod se ipsum oporteret primum devincere, si vellet effici Christi miles, ad deosculandum eum equo lapsus accurrit. Cui cum manum quasi aliquid accepturus leprosus protenderet, pecuniam cum osculo deportavit. Statim autem equum ascendens et se circumquaque convertens, cum campus pateret undique liber, leprosum illum minime vidit.” Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, I. 5. Fontes Franciscani 1995, 784–785.
- 391 *Legenda trium sociorum*, 11. Fontes Franciscani 1995, 1383–84.
- 392 Cobiainchi 2001, 394–430. The cycle, practically destroyed, started with the same scene.
- 393 Madrid, Archivo Ibero-Americano, S. Bonaventura: *Legenda maior Sancti Francisci*, fol. 5. On the manuscript see Einhorn 1999, 319–340.
- 394 Rome, Museo Francese, Codice Inv. Nr. 1266, fol. 10r (no. 6). According to an unidentified hand, the manuscript was finished in 1457. This codex felicitously contains the miniatures lost from the Madrid manuscript. Facsimile edition: Gieben–Criscuolo 1992.
- 395 Graesse, 663, Maggioni, 1017–18; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 221.
- 396 “Dum enim una dierum sic sequestratus oraret et prae nimietate fervoris totus esset absorptus in Deum, apparuit ei Christus Iesus veluti cruci confixus.” Bonaventura, *Legenda maior* I. 5, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 785.
- 397 Chapter IV, part 12. Fontes Franciscani 1995, 1384.
- 398 Madrid: Fol. 5v. In the Photo Archive of the Courtauld Institute, London, (no. 381503) the inscription identifies the subject as the cross of San Damiano. In the manuscript of Rome (fol. 10v, no. 7) the altar is represented in nature, though it is not emphasized.
- 399 Roma, Biblioteca dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei e Corsiniana 55.K.2, fol. 3v, see Frugoni–Manzari 2006, 144. In this manuscript the cross of San Damiano is also a free-standing Crucifixion, not connected to an altar, *ibid.* 157.
- 400 “Pauperibus etiam mendicantibus non solum sua, verum etiam se ipsum cupiebat impendere, aliquando vestimenta exuens, aliquando dissuens, aliquando scindens ad largiendum eis, cum prae manibus alia non haberet.” Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, I. 6, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 786.
- 401 “Cum autem religiosa devotione tunc temporis limina visitaret Apostoli Petri, conspecta multitudine pauperum ante fores ecclesiae, partim pietatis ductus dulcedine, partim pauperitas allectus amore, uni ex eis magis egenti proprias largitus et vestes, et semicinctiis contextus illius, diem illum in medio pauperum cum insolita spiritus iucunditate transegit, ut et saecularem gloriam sperneret et ad perfectionem evangelicam gradatim consensendum perveniret.” *Ibid.* 786.
- 402 *Legenda aurea*: “Quadam uice Romam causa deuotionis proficiscens uestimenta sua deposuit et pauperis cuiusdam uestimenta induens ante ecclesiam sancti Petri inter pauperes sedit et cum eis uelut unus ex illis auide manducauit et sepius simile fecisset nisi notorum uerecundia impedisset.” Graesse, 663, Maggioni, 1017. Ryan 1993, vol. II, 220. Close to this: II Cel. 8, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 450. More detailed the *Legenda Trium Sociorum* 10, *ibid.* 1382. Note that all the three sources describe the Roman pilgrimage before the story of the leper, while the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* follows the sequence of Bonaventura.
- 403 Fol. 6r. Courtauld Institute, photo no. 381504.
- 404 Fol. 11r, no. 8. Quomodo pauperem quemdam se exuto vestitit. The miniature belongs to the pilgrimage to Rome.
- 405 Fol. 4v, see Frugoni–Manzari 2006, 144. A related manuscript of the *Legenda maior* kept in Prague (Knihovna Národního muzea, Nostická sbírka MS c 13) keeps only the inscription of the event without the miniature on fol. 4v, see *ibid.* 105.
- 406 Bienno (Brescia), S. Maria Annunziata, fresco of Giovanni Pietro da Cemmo. Kaftal NW 285–286.

- 407 Török 2000, 421.
- 408 “Quapropter a patre ligatus et captus pecuniam eidem restituit ac uestem pariter resignauit et sic nudus ad dominum euolauit”. Graesse, 663, Maggioni, 1018, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 221.
- 409 Caput 17, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 1390–1391.
- 410 “Quem cum cives cernerent facie squalidum et mente mutatum, ac per hoc alienatum putarent a sensu, luto platearum et lapidibus impetebant et tanquam insano et dementi clamorosis vocibus insultabant. Famulus autem Domini, nulla fractus aut mutatus iniuria, ut surdus in omnibus pertransibat. Cumque clamorem huiusmodi pater audisset, statim accurrens, non ad liberandum eum, sed potius ad perdendum; omni miseratione subtracta, pertractum domi primo verbis, diende verberibus et vinculis angit.” Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, II. 2, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 788–789.
- 411 For the former, see Bergamo, fresco of Jacopino da Scipione from S. Maria delle Grazie. For the latter, see the fresco in Bienno, Kaftal NW, 285–288.
- 412 Fol 7v, Courtauld Institute, photo no. 381508. Rome: fol. 12v, miniature no. 13–14. The miniature in the Corsini *Speculum* only depicts stoning, fol. 35v, Frugoni–Manzari 2006, 152.
- 413 “Factum est autem cum pater eius, familiari causa urgente, aliquantulum a propria discessisset, et vir Dei victus in domus ergastulo permaneret, mater eius quae sola domi cum eo remanserat, factum viri sui non probans, blandis sermonibus filium allocuta est. Cumque videret quod eum a suo proposito revocare non posset, commota sunt materna viscera super eum, et confractis vinculis, liberum eum abire permisit.” Thomas a Celano, Vita prima sancti Francisci (I Cel) 13, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 288–289.
- 414 Fontes Franciscani 1995, 1391 resp. 789.
- 415 LCI: B, Kaftal T: C, Fig. 442. For the whole panel, see Frugoni 1993, 357–398; Cook 1999, no. 68, Brooke 2006, 176–192.
- 416 LCI: O; Kaftal T: M. Cobiانchi 2001 does not identify this scene in the Florentine cycle.
- 417 “Uestem pariter resignauit et sic nudus ad dominum euolauit”, Graesse, 663, Maggioni, 1018, Ryan 1993, vol. II, 221.
- 418 I Cel 14–15, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 289–290; II Cel 12, *ibid.* 454, Bonaventura, *Legenda maior* II. 4, *ibid.* 789–790. The *Legenda aurea* as above.
- 419 Cf. LCI vol. 6, 283, no. 10, Kaftal T, no. 8, CS, no. 4, NE, no. 3, NW, no. 5.
- 420 Siena, Pinacoteca, N. 303. Kaftal T, F, LCI: F. See Frugoni 1993, 177, Cook 1999, no. 180.
- 421 LCI: K, Kaftal T, M and CS: D. See note 11.
- 422 LCI: L, Kaftal T, H.
- 423 Main part in Florence, Accademia, no. 8594–8603. LCI, M, Kaftal T, K. Cf. Marcucci 1965, no. 31.
- 424 Partially destroyed fresco cycle, middle of the fourteenth century; Kaftal NE, B, fig. 390.
- 425 Kaftal NE: 2*.
- 426 Kaftal NE, C. Venice, Accademia, inv. no. 16, cat. no. 21. Moschini Marconi 1955, 15–16.
- 427 Exterior side of the wings of the altarpiece, Rieti, Museo Civico; Kaftal NE, D; Mortari 1960, no. 3.
- 428 LCI quotes Sassetta: Altarpiece of S. Francesco from Borgo San Sepolchro, London, National Gallery, frescoes of Benozzo Gozzoli, Montefalco, S. Francesco, frescoes of D. Ghirlandaio, Florence, S. Trinità, Capella Sassetti.
- 429 The saint is represented with clasped hands before the bishop in the stained glass window of the Franciscan friary of Regensburg. Since the window is fragmented, it cannot be judged if Francis was kneeling or was represented much smaller. The bishop is covering him with the cloak, which is different from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum, Marburger Index 2302 A 12, see also the next scene). The standing Francis is smaller than the sitting bishop in the panel of the Capella Bardi, too.
- 430 Rome, Biblioteca Nazionale, VE 411, fol. 5v. See Mazzini 2000; Franziskus 2011 235, no. 9 (M. A. Bilotta). The manuscript is localized to Bologna or Rimini, the same region where the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* originates from.
- 431 “Iam enim cum semicinctis involutus pergeret, qui quondam scarulaticis utebatur, et per quamdam silvam laudes Domino lingua francigena decantaret, latrones super eum subito irruerunt. Quibus ferali animo eum quis esset interrogantibus confidenter vir Dei plena voce respondit dicens: Praeco sum magni Regis! Quid ad vos? At illi percutientes eum, in defosso loco pleno magnis nivibus proiecerunt dicentes: Iace, rustice praeco Dei. Ipse vero se huc atque illuc revolvens, nive a se discussa illis recedentibus, de fovea exsilivit et magno exhilaratus gaudio, coepit alta voce per nemora laudes Creatori omnium personare.” I Cel 16. Fontes Franciscani 1995, 291.
- 432 Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, II. 5. Fontes Franciscani 1995, 791.
- 433 “Tempore niuis per siluam ambulans a latronibus capitur et ab eis quis sit requisitus preconem dei se esse asseruit. Quem illi arripientes in niuem prociunt dicentes: Iace, rustice praeco dei!” Graesse, 664, Maggioni, 1018; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 221.
- 434 LCI vol. 6, 282, no. 5: „Der junge F[rantz] unter d. Räubern“. Munich, Bayerisches Nationalmuseum. Marburger Index 2302 A 13.
- 435 “Sic igitur servus Regis altissimi nudus relictus est, ut nudum sequeretur crucifixum Dominum” *Legenda maior*, II. 4. Fontes Franciscani 1995, 790.
- 436 After Francis kisses a leper in the first image he hurries to other lepers, kisses them and gives them money.
- 437 “Deinde vero totius humilitatis sanctus amator se transtulit ad leprosos, eratque cum eis, diligentissime serviens omnibus propter Deum, et lavans putredinem omnem ab eis, ulcerum etiam saniem extergebat, sicut ipse in Testamento suo loquitur dicens: Quia cum essem in peccatis, nimis amarum mihi videbatur videre leprosos, et Dominus conduxit me inter illos, et feci misericordiam cum illis.” I Cel 17, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 292. Cf. Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, II. 6, *ibid.* 791.
- 438 LCI no. 13: B, Kaftal T, no. 10: C, fig. 446. The Bardi panel has been previously regarded as the unique representation of this scene, Brooke 2006 187.
- 439 Fol. 19v, Frugoni–Manzari 2006, 158. Here the reference to Bonaventura is missing from the manuscript. Frugoni cites I. 6, although it can be equally II. 6.
- 440 “Immittit ergo in eum diabolus gravissimam tentationem luxuriae. At beatus pater statim ut percipit, veste deposita, chordula durissime se verberat, dicens: Eia, frater asine, sic te manere decet, sic subire flagellum. Tunica religionis est, furari non licet; si quo vis pergere, perge! Videns autem propter disciplinas tentationem non discedere, cum tamen iam livoribus membra cuncta pinxisset, aperta cellula, foras exiit in hortum, et in magnam nivem demersit se nudum.” II Cel 116–117, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 550.
- 441 *Legenda aurea*: “Cernens autem hostis antiquus quia sic non praeualuit, grauem carnis temptationem eidem immittit. Quod uir dei sentiens ueste deposita cordula durissima se uerberat dicens: Eya, frater asine, sic te manere decet, sic subire flagellum! Sed cum temptatio nequaquam discederet, foras exiens in magnam niuem se nudum demersit” Graesse, 666, Maggioni, 1021–22; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 223. Cf. Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 815–816.
- 442 *Legenda aurea*: “Cum apud dominum Leonem cardinalem sanctae crucis ab eo rogatus aliquamdiu moraretur, nocte quadam demones ad ipsum uenientes eum grauissime uerberauerunt,” Graesse, 666, Maggioni, 1022;

- Ryan 1993, vol. II, 223. For Thomas see Fontes Franciscani 1995, 552. For Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, ibid, 831.
- 443 Kaftal NW no.23, B: fig. 407.
- 444 See esp. in Frugoni 1993, Dalarun–Cusato–Salvati 2006, Benfatti 2011, Muessig 2012, Rusconi 2012, 45–63.
- 445 *Legenda aurea*: “In uisione dei seruus supra se seraphin crucifixum aspexit qui crucifixionis sue signa sic euidenter ei impressit ut crucifixus uideretur et ipse. Consignatur manus et pedes et latus crucis caractere, sed diligenti studio ab omnium oculis ipsa stigmata abscondebatur.” Graesse, 667, Maggioni, 1023; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 224. I Cel in Fontes Franciscani 1995, 360–373, III Cel ibid. 647–648; Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, ibid. 891–892.
- 446 LCI vol. 6, 295–301, no. 46; Kaftal T, no. 35, CS, no. 20, NE, no. 12, NW, no. 29. The thirteenth century (and partially later) examples are examined in details especially by Frugoni 1993 and Davidson 1998, 101–124.
- 447 A Northern French *Legenda aurea* manuscript of the first half of the fourteenth century illustrated the legend with this scene (Vat. Reg. lat. 534, fol. 189v); another representation is in Nicolaus de Lyra, Postillae in veteris Testamenti, manuscript from the last quarter of the fourteenth century (Vat. lat. 157, fol. 1); and this is emphasized by the panel of Giotto in the Louvre for which see recently Gardner 2011, 24–45.
- 448 Dated usually shortly after 1228, Louvre, OA 4083. Enamels 1996, 306–309, no. 101; Brooke 2006, 164. Another similar piece is kept in the Musée National du Moyen Âge, Thermes de Cluny, Inv. OA 84 (op. cit. fig. 101a). Others date it to the second half of the thirteenth century: Frugoni 1993, fig. 51, Franziskus 2011, 265–268, nos. 44–45.
- 449 Bonaventura Berlinghieri, St Francis, 1235, Pescia, Museo Civico (Kaftal T: A, LCI: A; Frugoni 1993, fig. 137; Brooke 2006, 168–172); Pistoia, Museo, ca. 1270 (Kaftal T: E, LCI: D; Frugoni 1993, fig. 159); Orte, cathedral, third quarter of the thirteenth century (Kaftal CS, A, fig. 20, LCI: E; Frugoni 1993, fig. 180); and the panels in Siena and the Capella Bardi, see above.
- 450 In Assisi in the Upper and Lower Church (the latter by P. Lorenzetti) and in Florence, S. Croce, Capella Bardi.
- 451 Cf. Frugoni 1993, 213–214 and, differently, Belting 2010, 13–14.
- 452 Frugoni 1993, 64. Also known from an early fourteenth century calendar-obituary, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms 838, f. 112v, Frugoni 1993, fig. 62.
- 453 Klaniczay 2014 notes 50–51. I would like to thank the author for allowing me to consult his manuscript and for generously helping me with the recent literature.
- 454 *Legenda aurea*: “In regno quoque Castelle, cum quidam uir sancto Francisco deuotus ad completorium pergeret, ab insidiis ob mortem alterius ibi paratis ex errore impetitur et letaliter uulneratus semiuiuus relinquitur. Deinde gladium in gutture crudelis lictor infixit et extrahere non ualens recessit. Fit undique concursus et clamor et ab omnibus mortuus plangitur. Cum autem nocte media campana fratrum ad matutinas pulsaretur, uxor clamare cepit: Mi domine, surge et uade ad matutinas, quia campana te uocat. Statim ille manum eleuans uidebatur alicui innuere ut gladium extraheretur. Et ecce, uidentibus omnibus gladius quasi ualidissimi iactus manu pugilis eminus prosiluit. Statimque ille perfecte sanatus se erexit dicens: Beatus Franciscus ad me ueniens suaque stigmata meis uulneribus apponens eorum suauitate cuncta uulnera deliniuit et contactu mirifice solidauit. Qui cum uellet discedere sibi innuebatur ut gladium abstraheret quia loqui aliter non ualerem. Quem apprehendens ualide proiecit statimque stigmatibus sanctis uulneratum guttur demulcens perfecte sanauit.” Graesse, 668, Maggioni, 1024; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 224–225. Cf. III Cel in Fontes Franciscani 1995, 654–656.
- 455 Identifying the story of Thomas of Celano with an episode of Bonaventura (De miracula I. 5, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 915–917): Kaftal T, no. I, NE, no. II.; on the contrary, LCI no. 75 quotes only Bonaventura for the youth of Lerida. The identification of the two stories is really problematic, although they may be correlated; see Armstrong et al. 1999, 653, note a.
- 456 Kaftal NE, A, fig. 401.
- 457 *Legenda aurea*: “Cum quondam auium multitudinem reperisset et eas uelut rationis participes salutasset dixit: Fratres mei uolucres, multum debetis laudare creatorem uestrum qui plumis uos induit, pennas ad uolandum tribuit, aeris puritatem concessit et sine uestra sollicitudine uos gubernat. Aues autem ceperunt uersus eum extendere colla, protendere alas, aperire rostra et in illum attente respicere. Ipse uero per medium earum transiens tunica contingebat easdem nec tamen aliqua de loco est mota donec licentia data omnes insimul auolauerunt.” Graesse, 670, Maggioni, 1027; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 227. Among the earlier sources, Thomas of Celano also recounts this event (I Cel 58, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 332–334), locating it near Bevagna, and Bonaventura concurs (XII. 3, ibid. 881–882).
- 458 LCI vol. 6, 288, no. 31; Kaftal T, no. 33.
- 459 Kaftal CS, no.17, fig. 547, Frugoni 1993, fig. 88.
- 460 Kaftal NE, no. 11: D, fig. 395 and 11*.
- 461 Eton College Ms 96 fol. 22, quoted by LCI.
- 462 Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, fol. 141v. Marburger Index 883 C 5-11 (this miniature is not published there).
- 463 Frugoni 1993, fig. 89. Here further examples for the interpretation of the scenes, 233–268.
- 464 *Legenda aurea*: “Ad extremam igitur horam ueniens dormiuit in domino.” Graesse, 672, Maggioni, 1029; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 228; I Cel 110: Fontes Franciscani 1995, 388–389; II Cel 217: ibid. 631–632; Bonaventura, *Legenda maior*, ibid. 902–905.
- 465 LCI no. 58, Kaftal T, no 36, CS, no. 21 and 26, NE, no. 13, NW, no. 31. To name only a few: panels of Siena, Pistoia and Capella Bardi, Assisi Upper and Lower Church, fresco of Capella Bardi, window of Königsfelden.
- 466 Török 1992, 572.
- 467 Török 1992, 572.
- 468 Fontes Franciscani 1995, 674–682. resp. 919–924.
- 469 III Cel 40, Bonaventura, *De miraculis*, II § 1, Fontes Franciscani 1995, 919.
- 470 *Legenda aurea*: “Cum quedam domina que beato Francisco deuota extiterat uiam universe carnis fuisset ingressa et clerici et presbiteri feretro exequias celebrantes astarent, subito se mulier erigit super lectum et unum de astantibus sacerdotibus uocat dicens: Volo, pater, confiteri. Ego enim mortua fueram et diro eram carceri mancipanda quoniam peccatum quod tibi pandam necdum confessa fueram, sed orante pro me sancto Francisco ad corpus mihi redire indultum est ut illo reuelato peccato ueniam merear. Statimque ut illud manifestauero in pace cernentibus uobis quiescam. Confessa igitur et absolutione recepta mox in domino obdormiuit.” Graesse, 672, Maggioni, 1030; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 229.
- 471 LCI no. 74, Kaftal T, II, fig. 474.
- 472 III Cel 88–94: Fontes Franciscani 1995, 700–705. The *Legenda aurea*: “Pauper quidam cuidam diuiti debens quondam pecunie quantitatem rogat ut sancti Francisci amore sibi terminum prolongaret. Cui ille superbe respondens: Tali, inquit, se loco recludam ubi nec Franciscus nec aliquis poterit te iuuare. Moxque illum uinculatum in carcerem obscurum inclusit. Paulo post sanctus Franciscus affuit et fracto carcere ruptisque uinculis hominem incolumem reduxit ad propria.” Graesse, 672–673, Maggioni, 1031; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 229. This corresponds to III Cel 89.
- 473 LCI no. 76, Kaftal T, no. VIII. No other parallels are known in the literature.

- 474 Fontes Franciscani 1995, 703–704 resp. 937–938.
 475 Fontes Franciscani 1995, 935 resp. 700–701.
 476 A good summary Frugoni 1993, 5–49; Rusconi 2008, 107–119; and the introductions in Dalarun 2010.
 477 *Legenda ad usum chori*. This is usually dated to ca. 1230. According to Frugoni it was created after the *Tractatus*. Frugoni 1993 10. Cf. Dalarun 2010 vol. 1, 679–684, who accepts the early date but questions the authorship. It is attributed to Julian of Speyer by Rava–Sedda 2011, 107–175.
 478 For the Franciscan problem, see in general Pásztor 2000 and Dalarun 2002.
 479 Barbara Fleith 1991, 13 dates the *Legenda aurea* to 1252–60 and supposes that Jacobus read the legend of Bonaventure during its editing. Other authors named the second legend of Thomas of Celano (E. Baumgartner) or Bonaventure (F. Wilhelm) as sources (quoted by Fleith 13, cf. 17–24). According to Giovanni Paolo Maggioni, the main sources were the second and third work of Thomas (but not the first), and more importantly, the major legend of Bonaventure. Of course, later redactions of the *Legenda aurea* from the 1260s to the death of its author (1298) should also be taken into consideration. Maggioni 1995 and his commentary on page 1667 in Maggioni.
 480 *Speculum perfectionis* (late thirteenth century–early fourteenth century), *Scripta Leonis, Actus Beati Francisci et Sociorum eius* (1327–1340), and *Fioretti* (fourth quarter of fourteenth century), Frugoni 1993, 15, Dalarun 2010.
 481 The destruction of the legends in 1266 caused a disaster only in Franciscan friaries, therefore 11 manuscripts of the first legend of Celano of the existing 21 survived in Cistercian or Benedictine monasteries (Dalarun 2010, vol. 1, 453, cf. Frugoni 1993, 25). Thus, such a source might have been in use also where the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* was prepared, though this is less probable.
 482 Assisi, Museo S. Francesco, LCI: G; Rome, Musei Vaticani, third quarter of thirteenth century, LCI: H; two similar miracles are added in the panel of Pisa, S. Francesco, ca. 1250–60 (LCI: C).
 483 Bonaventura Berlinghieri; the death of the saint is represented instead of the preaching in the panel of Pistoia.
 484 Breaking with the father; cross of S. Damiano; acknowledgment of the Rules; preaching to the birds; the fiery chariot; stigmatization; the manger of Greccio; death.
 485 See note 407. Partially published in Soupková 1989, figs. 11–18 and Frugoni–Manzari 2006, figs. 3–8 and 11–14.
 486 See note 432.
 487 Cf. the emphasis on the “povertà taciuta” noticed by Chiara Frugoni in the Corsini *Speculum*, Frugoni–Manzari 2006, 104–108.
 488 LCI vol. 6, 280. As the only exception a cycle of 9 miniatures (from a manuscript of a house of the Poor Claires in the Upper Rhine region) are mentioned (second half of fifteenth century, Munich, Staatliche Grafische Sammlung Nr. 39837–45), cf. Steingraber 1952.
 489 Illés 1913.
 490 Cf. Kelly 1998, 60–61.
 491 Boureau regarded four legends as especially adventurous: Alexis, Eustace, Clement and Christopher (Boureau 1984, 211). In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* the two latter are included in the group of the martyrs and in their cycles different motifs are emphasized.
 492 This can be found only in the legends of Gregory, Benedict and Anthony. However, many of the legends are fragmented at the end.
 493 Therefore their legends are usually not discussed in detail, or just the opposite, do they seem to be less popular because of the lack of studies?
 494 Based on the collections of Kaftal on Tuscan, Central and South Italian, Northeast and Northwest Italian painting.
 495 *Golden Legend*: Graesse, 751, Maggioni, 1154; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 301.
 496 Graesse, 751, Maggioni, 1154; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 301.
 497 The word usage in the *titulus* also refers to this: “II. quomodo fuit lapidatus in carcere.”
 498 Graesse, 751, Maggioni, 1155; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 301.
 499 Graesse, 751, Maggioni, 1155; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 301.
 500 Schoenen n.d. The identification of the story is sometimes problematic. In the image from the Zweifalten Martyrology (Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, Cod. hist. 2^o 415 fol. 76v) LCI can identify the glowing men correctly, however it explains the other one as a healing scene although it is clearly the miracle of the baby. For the identification problems of the altarpiece from Cserény (Hungarian National Gallery, 1483) see P. Szabó 1991.
 501 This fills the main part of the window of Chartres, where the story of Genebald is not represented at all among the 20 scenes. Manhes-Deremble 1993, 316–317.
 502 This scene was commented badly by Levárdy, not because Genebald is introduced to his diocese again but his son, Latro is consecrated as bishop. Levárdy 1973, fig. 163.
 503 L 164a: “I. Hylarii. quomodo seruiebat filia sua in habitu laycali monialibus.”
 504 “Hic uxorem primitus habens et filiam, in laicali habitu monasticam uitam ducebat” Graesse, 98, Maggioni, 146.; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 87.
 505 Graesse, 98–99, Maggioni, 147; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 88.
 506 Graesse, 99, Maggioni, 147–148; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 88.
 507 This was erroneously identified by Levárdy with the miracle of the cypress gates (Levárdy 1973, 156). Correctly explained by Heide Stamm, in: Morrello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 99.
 508 “solus episcopus et rex cum pedites adierunt” Graesse, 583, Maggioni, 888; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 148. Thus the *titulus* also mentions only a bishop: “quomodo uenerunt ad ipsum unus rex et unus episcopus.” The text does talk about a humble request for forgiveness: “illi ab eo humiliter ueniam postulassent”, *ibid.*, Maggioni, 889.
 509 The usual political motivation is underlined by LCI vol. 5, 54 (V. Mayr). Frequently the scene is connected to the personality of Charlemagne as in his shrine in Aachen or the window of Chartres (Manhes-Deremble 1993, 308–309).
 510 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 370. fol. 62–64. Schmidt 1956.
 511 Instead of the foretelling of the death, an iconographic rarity in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, here the death and the burial of the saint are represented. This would have better fit into the Hungarian codex.
 512 As in the most extensive cycles of Anthony: Rose Graham, A Picture-book of the life of St. Anthony the Great, executed for the monastery of Saint-Antoine de Viennois in 1426, in: *Archaeologia* LXXXIII (1933) 1–26. Relevant scenes are in Table X. These also show a certain compositional similarity.
 513 Alexis and Eustace are regarded as novel-like heroes by Boureau 1984, 211.
 514 Hasenohr–Zink 1992, 1330.
 515 Heinrich Lausberg connected the Old French poem to a supposed early image cycle, rejected by Sckommodan 1956.
 516 From the fourteenth century mainly German cycles are known (Esslingen, Frauenkirche, frescos of the choir; Königsberg/Neumark, stained glass window). LCI vol. 5, 94 (E. Krausen).
 517 For the reconstruction of the Nativity scene missing from the beginning of the codex, see the legend of Bernard, L 142a. Cf. the wounded Giles, L 155d–156a.
 518 Kaftal T, 357–360: no. 8, 13–14, 16, 17, NW, 265, no. 1, 3. The most complete cycle is a panel from the early fifteenth century, once kept in Campodigione (Kaftal T, 357, A).

Analysis of the Legends

- 519 Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 370. fol. 134–150. Schmidt 1956.
- 520 Jansen 1995, 1–25.
- 521 Russo 1989, 173–190.
- 522 “dove Maria rimase giuso, ella con Cristo pianse in su la croce” Divina Commedia, Paradiso, XI. 71–72, English translation by Longfellow.
- 523 Siena, Pinacoteca, no. 1916. Russo 1989, 179.
- 524 Russo 1989, 173 and 181–186.
- 525 Saxer 1959, 185–214; Maisch 2000, 307–332.
- 526 Although the new title did not become popular, Jansen 1995, 24–25 and note 92.
- 527 “Qualibet autem die septem horis canonicis ab angelis in ethera eleuabatur et celestium agminum gloriosos concentus corporalibus etiam auribus audiebat;” Graesse, 413, Maggioni, 636; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 380.
- 528 This motif comes from the iconography of Mary of Egypt who also became a saint after being a prostitute. Cf. Loron 1993.
- 529 L 164a.
- 530 L 136d.
- 531 As in the somewhat later panel of the Master of the Magdalene in Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts, no. 28. Boskovits 1966, fig. 36.
- 532 “Cuius sanctissimum corpus beatus Maximinus diuersis conditum aromatibus honorifice sepeliuit” Graesse, 415, Maggioni, 638; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 381.
- 533 Neither Kaftal, nor LCI (vol. 7, 516–541, M. Anstett-Janssen) know these scenes. Cf. the next note.
- 534 This scene can be found in Naples, San Pietro a Maiella, Capella Pipino. Jansen 1995, 17.
- 535 James the Greater: L 61c-d, Francis: NYc.
- 536 James the Greater: 56d-57a, Giles, 156b, Emeric, 132b-c-d.
- 537 James the Greater: 56c, 60b-c-d and to a certain extent L 63b, Francis: NYd.
- 538 Although the miracle probably happened in Vézeley, it is not mentioned by the *Golden Legend*, and the schematic representation of the tomb can evoke the cult place wherever the spectator wishes.
- 539 L 170a: “quomodo docebat puellas”.
- 540 Madas 1992, 97.
- 541 “omnibus liberalium studiis erudita fuit”, Graesse, 789, Maggioni, 1205; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 334.
- 542 “Stansque ante ianuam templi per uarias conclusiones sillogismorum allegorice et metanomice, diserte et mystice multa cum cesare disputauit.” Graesse, 790; Maggioni, 1206; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 335.
- 543 Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare, A 25, f. 1r. MoMT II. 11. Cf. Wehli 1992, 221.
- 544 It does not mean necessarily that the Vāsári codices are not related at all to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* (see the analysis of St Stephen the King), since for the iconography of Catherine there was no need to use the Hungarian manuscript.

Analysis of the Image Types

In analyzing the various cycles, we have seen that the iconographic tradition only partially served as a source. This is understandable if we consider the rarity of such a lengthy and comprehensive adaptation of these legends. It is doubtful that even the most well equipped workshops would have had such a pattern book with the entire iconographical cycle, nor was there a need for one. In a few cases, where the scene is particularly characteristic of the saint, naturally the iconographic tradition had a direct impact (for example St George and the dragon, L 90a), but with the majority of scenes there is no concrete prototype. Instead general image types were relied on as starting points. Given that the legends already contain numerous common features and motifs, what would be more natural than to incorporate a common visual language?

In this respect the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is not alone; this phenomenon can be observed in the majority of extensive, illustrated works in which the story is constructed of regularly recurring stereotypes. The so-called Pamplona Bibles from the late 12th century are a good illustration of this, their last parts presenting in great length the legends of the saints.¹ We should also mention the *Liber depictus* from Krumau (Česky Krumlov), a Bohemian hagiographic manuscript² more or less contemporary with the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. In these, similar scenes (such as executions) appear in

succession with great uniformity. Related episodes are a relief to the painter, because a theme once worked out can be repeated. But there are some challenges as well: how does one avoid monotony? In this respect the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* proves more successful than the examples mentioned above, presenting more varied image types and avoiding tedious repetitions. However, to view monotony as merely a problem of amusement is a simplification of the question. Recurring images types help to unify the legendary and create a sense of a community of saints. Variety was not at all a requirement in codices of this kind; in fact it was quite the contrary. The greater the quantity of saints, the more the images were uniform and reduced. This is especially true of certain book types, such as martyrologies, which strove to highlight the common features of the saints rather than their individuality.³

In examining which image of the saint was conveyed to “readers” of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, we need to look at these recurring models or image types. In doing so, we touch on what resources were available to the illuminator. In the absence of an independent iconographic tradition for a given text, what kind of visual tools might the illuminator have consulted for motifs? At the same time, we also hope to ascertain the intent of the depictions: just as a set of criteria was developed for selecting the most important episodes in the lives of the

saints, a selection process was also devised to deal with the multitude of visual elements available for the depiction of a scene. The choice of which aspects to depict from each episode is in itself very revealing. How these details are presented is also important: which elements are regularly recurring and indispensable, and which can be viewed as more specific. In other words, which visual motifs are crucial in identifying the saint, and which are more incidental and changeable, only adding color or complementing the scene? On the one hand this requires a semiotic type of investigation; on the other, it also presents a special problem of art history. While examining how the various image types are constructed from the visual elements, we need to account for the difficulties of transforming text into a visual form. The migration of various visual solutions, motifs, and compositions reflects the unique aspects of the codex's visual frame of reference and allows us to map out the visual system of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.

IV.I. IMAGES OF PUBLIC LIFE

Ordination scenes

The ordination of bishops stands out among the examples of this image type (i.e. public life). A total of twenty-one cycles have survived of saints who were also bishops or popes.⁴ Thirteen of these cycles contain acts of ordination, with the number of related images totaling fifteen (since three ordination scenes appear in the legend of Remy).

In depicting the ordination of bishops, the two fundamental elements are the person who performs the ordination and the person who is ordained. The candidate for ordination generally kneels. In five images, we see him in the center (e.g. L 154a, Fig. 44), in seven on the right (e.g. L 71b, Fig. 45), and in one on the left. The most frequent

compositional scheme of the bishop-to-be on the right derives from the sequence of how we read the image: the action moves from left to right. At the same time, divergence from this is generally not a question of content, but composition, and visually the changes create variety. This is clearly felt in the cycle of Remy, in which the candidate for bishop appears in all three positions. The placement of the hands is also similar (clasped hands appear most commonly), appearing in every scene except for the last five in which the candidate crosses his arms. These variations presumably do not wield any significance.

The figure performing the ordination appears on the left with the exception of one image (where the bishop occupies this space). Because this placement is more consistent than the other elements in the pictures, content may play a role here: the left-hand spot is the most important given the direction in which we read the image, and therefore the person carrying out the liturgy is generally depicted there. In twelve of the scenes, the performer of the ordination makes a gesture of benediction, and in nine (?)⁵ he places the mitre on the bishop's head.

The mitre, which signifies the status of the candidate for bishop, also has symbolic meaning. The codex contains a large number of depictions of mitres as one of the most important identifying features of a prelate. The papal mitre is very similar, though it differs from the bishop's in that the upper part is checkered (and may or may not be divided by a vertical band).⁶ This system of identification is used consistently throughout the legendary.⁷

In addition to the mitre, the identity or status of the figure who performs the ceremony also helps us to distinguish the inauguration of a pope from the ordination of a bishop. Pope Clement is ordained by St Peter himself, and Jerome by a cardinal. In the third related image (Gregory), the figure is not identified, but several prelates are present as in the other two scenes. In the regular ordinations of bishops, the only other dignitary is the bishop who performs the ceremony.⁸



Fig. 44. The ordination of Saint Brice,
Vat. lat. 8541 fol. 93v (L 154a)

Gregory's inauguration stands out for another reason too: rather than kneeling, he sits upon the throne – thus, this is rather an act of enthroning. With this, he actually begins his reign, and the bishop to the left making a gesture of blessing is only confirming this. This scene is closely linked to two other images: one shows the feast of *Cathedra Petri* (L 28a), the other Pope Fabian on his throne (L 83b). In Fabian's case this image obviously signals the validity of the saint's papal rank: to his left sits a cardinal, to his right a bald man (probably a cleric). Like Gregory, the pope clasps his hands in prayer. The enthronement of Peter the apostle has a slightly different meaning: in keeping with the text, this clearly symbolizes



Fig. 45. The ordination of Saint James the Less,
Morgan Library M.360.17 (L 71b)

his taking the throne in Antioch. However, if we think of the development of the feast of *Cathedra Petri*, in which the events in Rome and Antioch are blended,⁹ then we are justified in supposing that this image substitutes for a scene from Peter's papacy in Rome (omitted because there is no event linked to it).

While the inauguration of a pope is distinguished by the number of prelates present, the ordination of a bishop is generally attended by lower ranked clerics. Of the twelve (defined in the strictest sense) episcopal ordinations, eight include these minor characters. In three (Gerhard, Remy and Latro), only the bishop performing the ordination and the candidate appear, while in one

(the ordination of Ambrose), five soldiers are present. The latter is unusual and cannot be explained directly by the text. Perhaps it symbolizes the power of Ambrose, who before his election was a favorite judge of the emperor, or it may indicate the consent of the ruler. However, it is more likely that it refers to how the reluctant saint had been held under arrest by the people until his ordination.

The set of characters present at the ordination scenes are generally surrounded by visual elements such as objects or parts of buildings that signify the environs or situation. Naturally, liturgical objects are the most prominent: in eight cases an altar is depicted, in three a chalice, and twice a book. These are complemented by a curtain indicating the interior space (in three images),¹⁰ the niched architecture denoting the interior of a church (in two images), and the motif of a rail emphasizing the architectural environment (in one). Finally, quite surprisingly, Thomas Becket is ordained outside the church.¹¹

The number of visual elements indicating the surroundings seems to increase where there are fewer players in the scene. For example, in the case of Gerhard, all three liturgical objects are present along with motifs of the curtain and rail, but no other figures appear. In Brice there are three clerics; therefore his ordination scene (L 111c, Fig. 46) includes just an altar, a chalice and a book. In papal inaugurations, where there are a greater number of participants, there is no space for liturgical objects.

All in all, the ordinations of bishops (and the inaugurations of popes) are defined by several visual elements that explain and complement each other. Not all are present at the same time, but a minimum number are needed to express the situation. The number of elements is determined by the composition too, and different assemblages are permitted to add variety.

Similar principles based on the pattern of episcopal ordinations also govern the consecration of nuns. These scenes are more rare, and as far as we know, the codex contains only two: the sister of Bernard and the wife of

Genebald (Remy's niece) both take the veil. As is typical, the two women appear only as relatives of the main figure in each cycle, though it should be kept in mind that the majority of the legends devoted to female saints are lost. In both cases the saint himself performs the ceremony: Bernard gives his blessing from the left and offers the veil, while Remy reads from a book as he turns towards the kneeling nun. The reason for the difference in composition between the two scenes is that the latter image also shows Remy ordaining Genebald by placing the mitre on his head – clearly the designers of the codex did not want to use the same scheme twice. Since the figure being ordained is so clearly a nun, there is no need for the same use of sophisticated objects to distinguish the scene from episcopal ordinations or papal inaugurations. At the

Fig. 46. The ordination of Saint Gerhard, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 68r (L 111c)



same time a group of secondary figures help to emphasize the difference in the scene with Bernard's sister: when she takes the veil she is accompanied by a group of nuns.¹²

The coronation of the king relies on a similar mode of visual expression. St Ladislav is also depicted kneeling on the right, like the candidates for bishop and nun, and the performer of the ceremony raises his right arm in the usual gesture of blessing while placing the crown on the king's head with his left. The presence of another Church dignitary in addition to the one performing the ceremony stresses the high importance of the anointment of the king (as is typical in scenes of a papal inauguration too). The laymen in caps emphasize the secular aspects of the scene. Interestingly, despite this difference, the painter takes a traditional view, perceiving the anointment of the king as analogous to the ordination of a bishop. However, the original thought behind this (the king as anointed bishop), was already outdated in the 14th century and even in the time of Ladislav.¹³

In summary, the ordination scene plays a fundamental role in determining the status of the saint. In particular, the scene legitimizes saints of episcopal or papal rank while the consecration of the nuns only adds color to the legends. The relevant scene of the coronation of Ladislav can be similarly interpreted for this is the only surviving scene of a saint-king.

Because the scenes act to define the role of the saint, they generally occur early on in the cycles; in the legends of Clement, Stanislaw, Brice and Remy, they are the opening images. In the legends of Fabian and Gregory the first two scenes belong together, followed by an image of the election; as a group the three pictures indicate the role of these two saints. A similar solution is also found in the cycle of Ladislav, whose coronation is preceded by his entry into the city – this scene serves almost as an introduction. In the cycles of Ambrose and Hilary, images from their early life prepare us for their ordinations.¹⁴ The ordinations of Gerhard and Thomas Becket, on the other hand, have

a more serious pre-history: both are preceded by scenes of the saints winning the favor of the king (and in the case of Gerhard his spiritual preparation is also needed). In the legends of Donatus, Martin, and Peter the Apostle, however, the ordination scenes take place much later: all three achieve this honor only in the middle of their lives.

Finally, we need to take a separate look at the legend of Jerome. Here the opening scene shows Jerome writing, in his role as Church Father. His inauguration as pope is not directly connected to this scene, but rather is more closely associated with the image that follows, the plot against Jerome. Thus, like the benediction of the nuns who appear as secondary characters, the inauguration scene here too is a part of the epic cycle. This can also be said of the *Cathedra Petri* scene, which is so deeply embedded in the events of Antioch.

If the creators of the codex found it so important to clarify the status of the prelates, then why is this type of scene missing from the other relevant cycles? There are six more legends in which we would expect an ordination/inauguration scene. Of these, the legends of Nicholas and Louis of Toulouse are fragmentary, so we cannot know for sure. Furthermore, the life of Augustine is so extraordinarily brief (two images), that the choice was made to rather show him as a man of learning. An ordination scene would fit in the cycle of Blaise, but here his martyrdom is the focus, not his role as bishop. Similarly, the legend of Sixtus only allotted enough space to show his refusal to worship idols and his martyrdom. Strangely, the cycle of Pope Sylvester also lacks an inauguration scene (as well as other important events from his legend). It is quite striking that ten of the cycles of the bishop-saints contain images defining their status, and only two clearly lack such scenes. Among the popes, four (not including Jerome) have inauguration scenes and two do not. This shows us that more consistent efforts were made at the time the program was designed to clarify the position of the bishops than that of the popes.

Images of scholarly life

In the cases of Jerome and Augustine, we have already noted that their roles as Church Fathers are more prominent than their positions as bishops. Both cycles open with an image of the saint in his study, surrounded by books and working on some sort of writing (L 119c, 121a). The first scene of St Luke (L 78a) relates to this, as does the opening image in the cycle of St Catherine: the princess uses a book to instruct some girls seated around her (as we have seen, the legends illustrates a remark in *Golden Legend* according to which Catherine was “fully instructed in all the liberal studies”). The erudition of the

saint and his role as chancellor is symbolized in the legend of Thomas Becket by the image of him writing in the presence of the king (113b, Fig. 47).¹⁵

Images of the scholarly life generally appear in first scene, except in the legend of Thomas Becket. Here the first scene is both a visual analogue and a precursor to the ordination scene: we see Thomas being recommended to the king. Like the ordination scenes, images of the scholarly life may have served to define the position of the saint, as in the cycles of Luke, Augustine, or Jerome, in which these scenes indicate the saints’ roles as evangelist or Church Father. Their compositions follow the traditional classical author-portrait. Notably, not only is the image type the same but the inscriptions are also very similar.¹⁶ The question then arises: why was this type of image not included in the cycles of the other evangelists and Church Fathers?

Although the legend of St John the Evangelist is fragmentary, it clearly did not contain an image of this kind. However, the second scene in the cycle, containing the vision of the Apocalypse (L 41b), is relevant. The open and closed books lying on the bookshelf perhaps refer to his later recording of this event. Thus he is identified as the author not of the fourth Gospel but rather the Book of Revelation. The cycle of Mark the Evangelist also has missing material; a scene of scholarly life could have appeared on the first folio. On the other hand the legend of Matthew is complete, so we need to find another explanation. Because his legend contains a series of scenes showing conversions, healing and martyrdom, Matthew perhaps was seen more as an apostle rather than an evangelist, and thus his legend was adjusted to fit in better with the cycles of the apostles.

As far as the Church Fathers are concerned, we have already mentioned that the roles of Gregory and Ambrose are defined by scenes of their inauguration/ordination. It seems the cycles avoid portraying any kind of dual status – in Jerome too the ordination appears to have a more epic function.

Fig. 47. Saint Thomas of Canterbury as the king’s chancellor, Vat. lat. 8541 fol. 70r (L 113b)



The stories of the evangelists and the Church Fathers are noticeably condensed: the worldly paths of Luke and Augustine are shown in just two images, while the story of Jerome also includes scenes of the plot against him. Three scenes represent Gregory's life on Earth, although the third is tied to some *post mortem* phenomena and thus perhaps only two count as images of his earthly life.¹⁷ Oftentimes the legends cannot provide any more colorful episodes, so the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* settles for a portrayal of scholarly-writing activities. These saints do not stand out for their acts of conversion, their virtuous life, or miracles (with the exception of occasionally *post mortem* ones), but rather for their intellectual pursuits: their work in connection with Holy Scriptures as writers, translators, and commentators.¹⁸

The situation is different in the cases of Catherine of Alexandria and Thomas Becket. As we have seen, the learnedness of the princess was visually presented as an attribute rather than a role. The scene connects to the other narrative elements in Catherine's life, since her erudition is a precondition to her ability to successfully debate questions of faith.¹⁹ In the legend of Thomas Becket, the unfolding of events also requires this first scene in which his career in the Church is established (his ordination as bishop is in the next picture), and the idyllic image serves as a counterpoint to his murder in scene VII (L 114c).

These functional differences between the images of scholarly life in the Church Fathers and evangelists versus those found in the cycles of Catherine and Thomas Becket are perceptible in the visual elements too. The well-furnished study (niche, lamp, desk, bookshelf and above all, the multitude of books) of the scholars stands in contrast to the settings in the cycles of Thomas (nothing but a pen and scroll are shown to symbolize writing) and Catherine (only one book is shown as she engages with her students). Thus we can see, the surroundings are more greatly elaborated when the image is meant to represent a scholarly calling – an entire life devoted to scholarship.

Scenes of conversion

The cycles of the legendary are not uniformly constructed, and a variety of solutions are used for the opening images. As we have seen, we are frequently shown an image of the saint's role in public life: a scene denoting the saint's role as bishop, pope or "evangelist." In contrast, liturgical activities never appear at the start of the legend. However there is a group that can compete with the above-mentioned scenes for the opening position: scenes of conversions. Of the seven²⁰ relevant opening images, five show the saint preaching, one shows debating and one shows healing and evangelizing. Of the saints, five are apostles and two are martyrs. Although the scenes of evangelism themselves do not function primarily in defining the position of the saint, they seem to have an important role in clarifying his profile. At first glance it is obvious that the scenes of conversion are most strongly associated with the apostles and to a certain extent with the martyrs. Among the confessors, these scenes are not at all prominent.

The most unambiguous form of evangelism is *preaching*. Thirteen such scenes are known. Of these nine are found among the apostles, two among the martyrs and two among the confessors. Two of these saints (Gerhard and Ambrose) were bishops, and this number might increase if we consider an image from the lost Parisian folio, possibly of Martin. The crucial visual elements are the speaker, his characteristic gesture, and the audience. The preacher extends his right index finger, or index and middle finger together, in a motion that can be interpreted either as an expression of blessing or explanation.²¹ The other hand of the saint is generally shown with open palms. The audience for the most part remains seated (but occasionally standing) and listens to the speaker, sometimes debating what is heard with looks and gestures. Only in one case do we see immediate converts (L 32c).

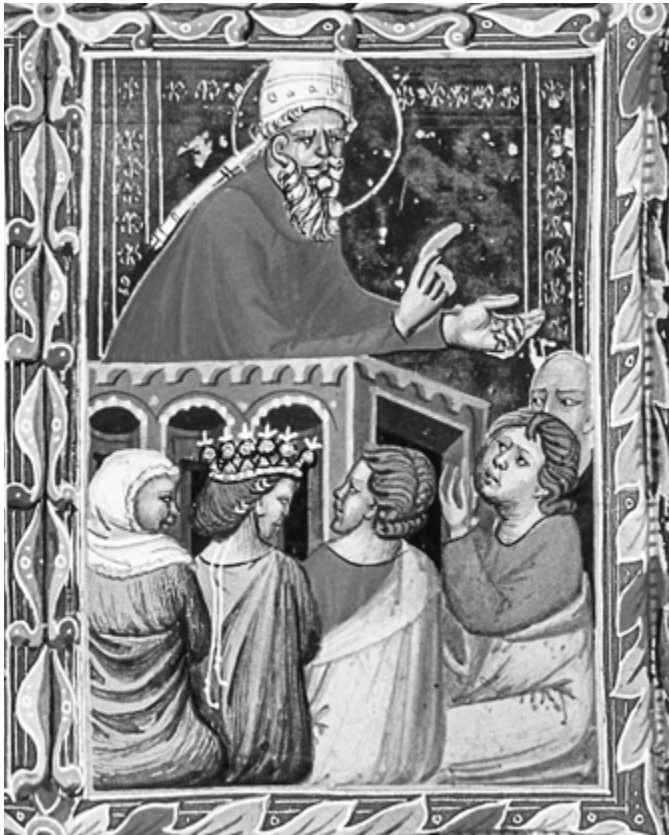


Fig. 48. Saint Gerhard preaching, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 68r (L 111d)

A pulpit often, but not always, appears as a supplementary motif (nine times, e.g. L 111d, Fig. 48)²² – thus while not indispensable, it proves to be an effective tool in defining the situation. Additional elements are rarely depicted (although we see a cloud in Paul [L 32c], and sometimes trees and bushes [L 32d and NYa, Fig. 49]). In a few cases where the scene has more components, the story expresses more than just converting, as in the following cases: a boy listening to Paul falls out the window (L 32d); Ambrose, while preaching, is inspired by an angel (L 118c); and soldiers (L 67c), or the presiding ruler (L 34a), or even Jesus taking the place of James the Less (L 72b, Fig. 85) appear in an arrest scene.

Depictions of those who have experienced miracles are related to the scenes of preaching. The woman

of Samaria extends her left pointer finger and opens her right palm (L 3b, Fig. 50); Plantilla holds the shawl Paul returned to her in her right hand, while she lifts her left with open palm to the sky (L 35c). The pilgrims rescued by James the Greater stretch out their right index fingers and explain with open left hands, their palms displayed (L 58c); finally the peasant boy, similarly saved by the apostle, gesticulates with open hands – clearly he is not merely arguing but showing the absence of wounds. The audience here always stands and responds with gestures. There are no signs of direct conversions.

If simple preaching did not bring about results, the saints frequently enter into *disputes of faith*. The *Golden Legend* willingly details these true scholarly debates. The painted codex contains ten scenes that we know of (six

Fig. 49. Saint Francis of Assisi preaching to the birds, Metropolitan Museum 1994.516 (NYa)



from the legends of the apostles, two from the confessors, and two from the life of Catherine). In these, the proponents of the Christian faith make similar gestures to those above. The difference is that one or more opponents in the debate are always shown: sometimes they argue (L 39b, 47d [Fig. 51], 69c, 115b, 170c) and other times they observe in silence (L 55b, 65a). In most cases a ruler watches the debate (L 55b, 115b, 170c, 165b?); occasionally, the disputers use written material (51b, 115b, 170c); and twice the debate takes place before an idol (L 39b, 170b – we shall discuss these later). Immediate conversions rarely occur: only the disciples of St James the Greater are so

effective that some of their opponents immediately fall to their knees (51b, 55b).

A scene from Hilary merits a separate examination. According to the inscription the saint “quomodo disputabat cum papa” (L 165b). In fact, the debate is already over and the horrible death of the pope is signified by the corpse extending into the foreground. The bishops and a secular nobleman kneel before the saint, who argues with an open book. Here the visual language representing effective teaching is mixed with that of conversion; Hilary as a theologian wins over members of his own religion.

Fig. 50. The woman of Samaria talking about Jesus, Morgan Library M.360.1 (L 3b)



Fig. 51. Saint James the Greater arguing with the sorcerers, Morgan Library M.360.15 (L 47d)





Fig. 52. The conversion of the sorcerers in the legend of Saint James the Greater, Morgan Library M.360.16 (L 48a)

Conversion is of course the result of successful evangelizing, but it does not automatically follow scenes of preaching or debate. Sometimes, as we have seen, converts are already present in such depictions (preaching: L 32c; debate: L 51b, 55b). In the case of St James the Greater, however, the sorcerers do convert right away after the debate (according to the legend, only Philetus, L 48a, Fig. 52) in response to the persuasive arguments of the saint. Other times a miracle brings about a conversion: the resurrection of the dead convinces the pagan high priest (L 43), while Sebastian's ability to heal the body also leads to the spiritual recovery of Tranquillinus – these last two acts are inseparable in the picture (L 84a). A spectacular triumph achieved by the disciples of James is the conversion of



Fig. 53. Saint Christopher converting two girls in the prison, Morgan Library M.360.23 (L 97d)

Queen Lupa before the coffin of the apostle (L 56a), while George manages to convert a sorcerer after remaining unharmed despite drinking a cup of poison (L 90d).

Generally the setting remains undefined. That being said, there are two cases where it has some significance, and the evangelizing saint is shown in an easily recognizable prison cell: Demetrius and Christopher. While the act of conversion is clear in Demetrius, the relationship between Christopher and the two girls is not; we only know from the legend that a miraculous conversion took place (L 97d, Fig. 53).

The final gesture of conversion is similar to that discussed above: one or two out-stretched fingers on the left or right hand making a gesture of explanation or blessing.

In two cases (L48a [Fig. 52], 84a) the saint places his hand on the head of the converted, though this may be related to healing. The converted can be recognized because they are shown kneeling with clasped hands,²³ while sometimes others are standing around him or her (L 43c). In the cycle of Christopher there is no laudatory gesture (L 97d, Fig. 53). Scenes with similar visual solutions can also be found in stories that do not deal with the acquisition of new converts, but rather show believers bowing down to the saint – sometimes in hopes of miraculous healing or resurrection.²⁴ Of these we should highlight the scene in which James the Greater bids farewell to the two

Fig. 54. Jesus preaching to his disciples during the Last Supper, Morgan Library M.360.6 (L 8a)



disciples he leaves behind in Hispania (L47c, Fig. 105). The apostle turns back to the two kneeling disciples, who look up at him with hands clasped in prayer. The rest of James' disciples stand on the other side, some observing the scenes and others looking forward. We see the apostle with his left hand open, palm exposed, and his right hand clenched in a fist; perhaps the latter is the visual vestige of a two-fingered gesture of blessing.²⁵ The scene symbolizes the faithfulness of the disciples left behind and the strengthening of their faith. The preceding scenes show James's preaching and his circle of disciples. From this series of scenes it is not clear whether the saint leaves Hispania because his mission was unsuccessful. The author of the *titulus* similarly fails to understand this sequence, describing the scene as the healing of the infirm.²⁶

This scene is immediately preceded by an image of James the apostle in the center with disciples on both sides (L47b, Fig. 13). The saint appears as a Christian teacher among his followers, similar to Christ among the apostles. The same content, although with a different visual solution, is found in the Last Supper, in which Jesus speaks to the apostles, while John rests his head on the chest of Jesus (L 8a, Fig. 54). John the Baptist pointing toward the Messiah is meant to suggest the revelation of truth by pointing out the way (L 21c). These images symbolically represent the followers of Christian truth, and by condensing them, the cycle underscores the importance of the message.

The world of idols

Christian missionaries sometimes found the struggle with the power of idols to be a serious challenge.²⁷ In the opening image in the legend of Bartholomew, we can see his followers kneeling before the idols (L 73a, Fig. 55). However, a true Christian consistently rejects the worship of idols: an example of this is the legend of Sixtus, in which the pope says no twice and thus accepts martyrdom (L 103b and d). Others engage in debate in front of the



Fig. 55. The people of India worshipping an idol,
Morgan Library M.360.20 (L 73a)



Fig. 56. Saint Bartholomew destroying the idol,
Morgan Library M.360.20 (L 73d)

idols: Andrew and Catherine argue heatedly in their presence (L 39b, 170b). But the most drastic (and effective) act against the idols is to destroy them: Sebastian and Mary Magdalene carry it out themselves (L 84c, 168a), John the Evangelist and George have heavenly assistance in carrying out the task (L 42c, 91d), while Bartholomew forces the demon himself to crush the idol (L 73d, Fig. 56).

The idols are very uniform, and resemble the other devil figures in the codex: they have horns and large protruding ears, sometimes they have wings (L 39b), and they stand on slim columns, frequently in front of a niche (L 73a and d [Figs 55-56], 84c, 91d, 103b and d, 170b).²⁸ Sometimes they are making a strange movement, and in the legend of Sixtus are even seen dancing. Only Catherine debates

in front of an idol that has no body, only a large head like the others. These depictions have a long tradition, and their roots are found in antique models in which pagan gods stand on slender posts.²⁹ In Christian iconography we most frequently find idols being overturned in scenes of the Flight to Egypt.³⁰

The role idols play in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, however, is not to recall antiquity, but quite the opposite. They belong to that fantastic story world that is created by attacking or fleeing devils, demons, dragons and other wild beasts.³¹ Together they represent a barely nuanced depiction of Evil, which the Christian saints and their followers must struggle against. The overturning of idols is just one example of this; the miraculous

power of the saints must also be called upon to exorcise devils and defeat dragons.

These scenes are epic in nature, and generally present a progression in the story, and as such never begin a cycle. They are not even expressly apostolic in character, appearing in just as many legends of martyrs, and even appear in the cycles of the two female saints as a way of adding color. They are completely absent, however, from the group of confessors. In other words, scenes relating to conversion and defense of the faith are foreign to that type of saint.

Tests of faith

If words prove weak, if arguments run dry, then the champions of Christianity must act in order to prove the strength of their faith. Thus their opponents subject them to difficult trials. Most frequently it is the apostles who are tested: of the thirteen relevant scenes, eleven are from the legends of the apostles, one from the martyrs, and one from the group of confessors: Peter (and Paul) take up the fight against Simon the magician, John the Evangelist against Aristodemus the high priest, Matthew and Simon and Judas all battle the sorcerers Zaroës and Arphaxath, George combats a magician, and Sylvester tests his strength against the Jewish wise man Zambri. All together, this totals six stories presented in thirteen scenes; we can also see the deeds of the apostles are presented in greater detail in the codex.

The opponents are generally sorcerers, or Jewish wise men or priests. The trials are similar: the saint has to stave off some kind of danger or correct damage done in the meantime – the latter act is generally carried out on the saint's own volition to the bewilderment of the opponents. Peter and Paul are set upon by dogs, Matthew by a dragon, and Simon and Judas by snakes, while John the Evangelist and George both drink poison. Only in the case of Simon the magician does Peter pray for him to fall from the air, which indeed happens. The rest of the

scenes depict resurrections and healing. Peter and Simon the magician compete in the resurrection of a dead man. John, Simon and Judas, and Sylvester remedy the problems caused by the sorcerers.

The tests occur either in prison (Peter, John and George) or after a debate (Matthew, Simon and Judas, Sylvester). Although the Christians always withstand the trial, the result is conversion in only three cases (John, Sylvester, George). Peter and Paul suffer martyrdom afterwards. Zaroës and Arphaxath, the stubborn opponents of Matthew, as well as Simon and Judas disappear after their defeat. Thus we can say that the scales are not always balanced in favor of the saints: the cursed opponents are often not persuaded even after such miraculous proof.

Images of baptism

The reward of successful missionary work is obviously when the pagans adopt Christianity. Baptism is one of the recurring scenes in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. A total of twelve images have survived, of which five come from legends of the apostles, five from the martyrs, and two from the confessors. The majority of the baptized are rulers or important people and their families (in eight cases), but there are also examples of Jewish wise men, a common scribe and even an imprisoned blind man. These last two were converted while in prison, in the presence of soldiers, which explains why they were depicted. There is only one scene that is not the result of conversion; this shows the baptism of a child as part of a vision foretelling Dominic's rise to greatness (L 144a, Fig. 57); thus the construction of the image differs from the others too.

The person performing the baptism always appears on the left. He raises his right hand with two fingers extended in a gesture of benediction, and in four cases he places his hand on the person to be baptized. The candidate for baptism is always placed in a baptismal font, with his arms crossed in front of his naked body or clasped in



Fig. 57. The baptism of Saint Dominic, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 90v (L 144a)

prayer.³² In four cases no one else is present, and in eight cases there are observers and servants present. Sometimes they too fall to their knees (L 39a), or watch impassively or with disapproval (L 43d).

The baptismal font is the most clearly defining element in these compositions.³³ In only one instance is it missing, replaced by a jug: James the Greater converts a scribe on the way to his execution (L 52c). Sylvester, however, also uses a jug to pour water on the baptismal candidates waiting in the basin.

Elements from the material world include a towel (twice), curtain (five times) and architectural elements (five times). These in part derive from scenes of washing and also serve to convey the setting. Since it is a baptism, the location is presumably the interior of a church

or a baptistery, although temporary solutions are also employed in the baptism of pagans (especially when there is no other choice as in baptisms occurring in prison or in the presence of soldiers). In only one image is the sacred location clearly defined: Donatus stands before the altar, and thus we can identify the place of the ceremony as the interior of a church.

The baptism scene is preceded not by a long state of catechumen (which is not generally the subject of depiction anyway) but rather by a sudden act of conversion. In four cases, though, no preceding events are shown; in six cases conversion takes place after the candidate witnesses a miracle and two of these include the shattering of idols. St George wins over the king and his people by killing a dragon, and Sylvester is the only one who persuades his opponents in a dispute before the baptism. Thus we can see that miracles are more powerful weapons than oration in bringing about conversions.

Liturgical scenes

Spreading the faith is one of the primary public activities of the saints. Not only do new converts need to be won over, but also old ones need to be supported. The liturgy plays a great role in this and certain forms are most suitable for conveying great transitions. This explains why we find it in the baptism of new converts, and also why ordination scenes are appropriate signals of the start of public life. The latter (similar to images of the scholarly life) can be interpreted primarily as an indicator of the saint's role. However, these pictures have another aspect too, notably to introduce liturgical activities. We find a variety of forms of worship in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. If we systematically group the scenes according to a liturgical point of view, then we come up with the following categories which need to be investigated:

Sacraments (this list is finalized by the end of the twelfth century):



Fig. 58. Jesus with the Eucharist at the Last Supper, Morgan Library M.360.6 (L 8b)

Baptism:³⁴ as we have seen, scenes of baptism appear rather frequently in the codex (twelve times). Interestingly, in this codex the saint generally performs the ceremony rather than being baptized themselves, although in some legends the saint is a pagan at the beginning, as in the case of Christopher. The only exception is the baptism of the child Dominic, which is not important because of the act itself but because of the miraculous vision associated with it (L 144a, Fig. 57).

Eucharist: this appears as an independent scene three times, twice performed by Jesus (L 8b [Fig. 58] and L 72a [Fig. 20]); and the third time by Thomas Becket (L 113d,



Fig. 59. Saint Thomas of Canterbury celebrating mass, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 70r (L 113d)

Fig. 59). Mass is the setting for the manifestation of the miraculous power of the Eucharist (through the intervention of Bernard, L 143b), and sin is also forgiven during mass (mass of Giles, L 156b³⁵). Prominent in the codex are the bishops martyred during mass (Stanislaw and Thomas Becket, L 107c, 114c, Fig. 65). The visual elements belonging to the mass are the altar;³⁶ the host, often shown at the moment of *elevatio*;³⁷ and the chalice – the more emphasis placed on the actual Eucharist, the more complete this set of visual tools.³⁸ The followers generally kneel, except in the cycle of James in which they sit, while at the martyrdom of Thomas they begin the liturgy of the dead.



Fig. 60. Saint Francis resuscitating the woman of Monte Merano, Metropolitan Museum 1994.516 (NYc)

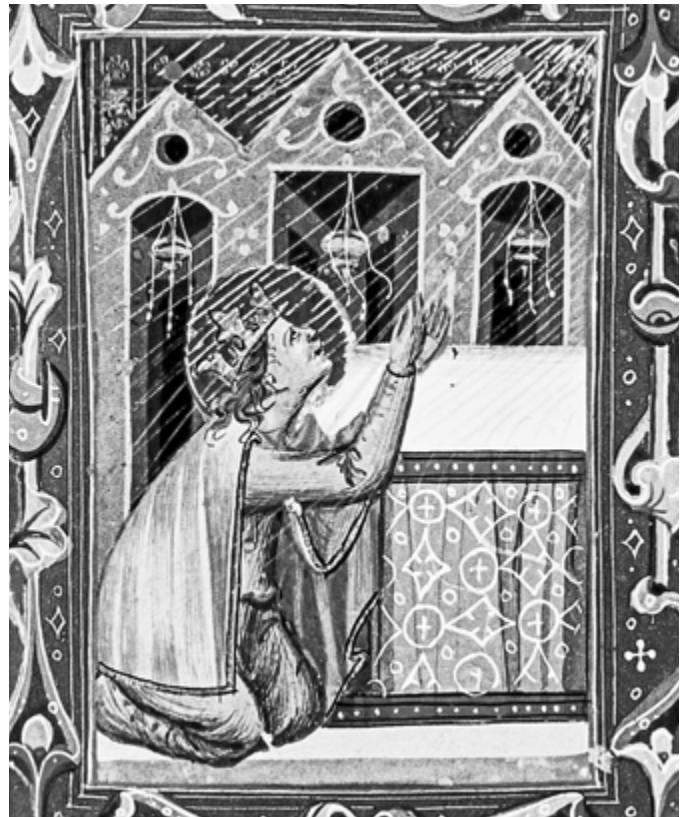
Penance and Extreme Unction: penance becomes important when a failure to do so brings the threat of damnation: mercy is bestowed by James the Greater, Francis and Mary Magdalene (L 61d, NYc [Fig. 60], L 169a) on the gravely ill and even on the dead so that they may do penance – interestingly, all three cases involve a posthumous miracle. In two scenes the dead confess, and in the other a dying man receives the viaticum. Two images prior to this scene, we see Mary Magdalene herself bidding farewell to the world in a similar fashion (L 168c). In the cycle of Louis of Toulouse, he kneels before a cross, and according to his legend he also takes Holy Communion (L 151b, Fig. 64). In earlier liturgical practice, extreme unction was administered in the following

order: absolution – anointment – viaticum, while another order (absolution – viaticum – anointment) became wide spread from the tenth century, being prescribed from the fifteenth-sixteenth centuries.³⁹ In the images in the codex, emphasis is placed on penance, while scenes of the Eucharist also appear, but anointment (which gives the name to this sacrament) is not expressed visually.⁴⁰

Matrimony: this sacrament is completely absent from the codex; instead scenes of lay people taking oaths of virginity are more prominent (Emeric, L 131c, Fig. 61) and young married couples voluntarily separating (Alexis, L 157a).

Ecclesiastical Orders: surprisingly, not one of the clerical saints is shown joining the priesthood. The deacons (Stephen, Lawrence, and Vincent) are only identified

Fig. 61. Saint Emeric taking oath of virginity, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 78r (L 131c)



by their attire, and none are shown being ordained. In contrast, ordinations of the bishops appear consistently, as do inaugurations of popes. But none of the monks are depicted taking the hood, and only two female relatives are portrayed taking the veil. Nor do we see the benediction of an abbot and no abbesses even appear in the codex. The ordination of the bishop is similar to the coronation of a king in content and visual expression; this only appears in the cycle of St Ladislav, the only surviving legend of a monarch.

Of the sacramentals (*sacramentalia*) we find the following:

Blessing: The saints in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* are often shown making a gesture of blessing toward people and objects, thereby healing, resurrecting, exorcising demons or just giving strength. A scene in which Hilary blesses his fellow bishops kneeling before him is worth noting (after the heretic pope dies a horrible death, L 165c), and another in which Matthew encouragingly blesses a girl as he suffers martyrdom (L 67a).

Consecration of a church: we see only one such scene in the legendary, in which the disciples of James achieve total success by transforming the palace of Lupa into a church (L 56b).

Processions: Depictions of this occur only in the legends of the Hungarian saints: Eusebius sees Emeric's soul rise to heaven while on a procession (L 132a, Fig. 62) and the coffin of Ladislav is received by the people of Várad with a procession (L 137d). The scene in which the king himself participates in a procession (L 133c) seems to be more independent (i.e. more symbolic) composition. The requisite objects of the procession are flags⁴¹ and crosses.⁴²

Burials: there are a great number of these in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. A detailed analysis of these will be carried out when we discuss Last Rites.

The daily office, as a liturgical framework for the day, scarcely appears in the codex despite its importance. *Matins* is the setting for the plot against Jerome (L 121c)



Fig. 62. Saint Eusebius seeing the soul of Saint Emeric taken to Heaven during a procession, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 79v (L 132a)

The provost who is roused from his sick bed by Augustine hurries to *vespers* (L 120b, Fig. 63).

In summary we can say that the liturgy itself is rarely the subject of depiction. From this perspective the establishment of the Eucharist (i.e. the Last Supper) is especially important (L 8b, Fig. 58). This image shows us quite clearly the first mass and not the Last Supper described in the gospels. This scene repeats itself in the story of James the Less, who (according to the *Golden Legend*) is visited by the resurrected Christ and receives the Host from Him (L 72a, Fig. 20). The apostle James the Less is a highly significant figure anyway: he was the first bishop and he was the only one of the apostles to enter the Holy of Holies (L 71c, Fig. 19). This last scene should depict the Jewish



Fig. 63. A provost, cured by Saint Augustine, hurrying to vespers, Hermitage 16931 (L 120b)

liturgy, but instead James is shown kneeling in prayer, like all Christians. Only the strange object, perhaps an Ark of the Covenant, covered with a blue veil signifies this exotic situation. The curtain in the background emphasizes the exclusiveness of the Holy of Holies.

In these scenes, the establishment and performance of the liturgy appears by itself. A similar scene is the participation of King Ladislav in a procession (L 133c). We have no concrete source for this particular event in the legend,⁴³ but it is certainly a symbolic act, shedding light on the relationship between the king and the Church, or perhaps the validity of the coronation.

The other similarly mysterious scene is from the life of Thomas Becket (L 113d, Fig. 59). As we have mentioned above, no textual source exists for the “mass of Thomas of



Fig. 64. Saint Louis of Toulouse kneeling before the cross at his deathbed, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 92v (L 151b)

Canterbury,” and it is possible that it is linked in some way to the scenes that follow. As it stands alone, it conveys the following meaning (as does the sermon of bishop Gerhard): the bishop-saint is acting in accordance with his calling.

There are very few examples of the saints participating in the liturgy other than performing it themselves. At the death scene of Louis of Toulouse, however, the saint kneels before the cross (L 151b, Fig. 64), and Mary Magdalene also receives the viaticum (L 168c). Later, she (169a) also posthumously intervenes so that the knight may receive absolution and take final communion (L 169a). All these depictions relate to Last Rites.

The liturgy and especially the power of the Eucharist are manifest in the scene in which Bernard convinces the prince of Aquitaine to reconcile with the Church

(L 143b). The episode, however, is part of a concrete series of events. Liturgical elements and locations provide the setting for several such scenes in which the emphasis is not on the performance of the liturgy but on something else. We find this in several instances of miracles and martyrdoms. The following examples are especially noteworthy: the two bishops, Stanislaw and Thomas Becket, are saying mass when they reach their violent ends (L 107c, 114c, Fig. 65). Matthew is also killed before the altar, at the end of mass. The image shows a soldier striking him just as he is giving his blessings (L 67a).

Thus the liturgy appears as a natural backdrop in the relevant images. The daily practice of religious service completely permeated medieval Church culture and the

lives of its representatives, and therefore even if there was no conscious attempt to present the liturgy, it continually surfaces as the framework or locality for an event. From this perspective it is striking that a fundamental part of the monastic liturgy – the daily Office – is almost completely missing from the codex. The answer to certain crucial questions such as the identity of the patron of the codex, the designer of the visual program, or the target audience most likely lies with the secular clergy, in particular the bishops, and not with the monastic community. As further support for this, we should note that the participation of laymen in the liturgy is thoroughly deemphasized, and the sacrament of matrimony is not included.

Fig. 65. Saint Thomas of Canterbury murdered during celebrating mass, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 71v (L 114c)



IV.2. IMAGES OF THE VIRTUOUS LIFE

Above we examined in greater detail scenes of the *viva activa*. However, this is only one aspect of the lives of saints, appearing more prominently in the legends of the apostles, Church Fathers, and those martyrs whose cycles do not focus primarily on their passions. With other types of saints, other features are emphasized: some groups of confessors (bishops, Hungarian saints, abbots and monks, as well as the last group of confessors) for example exhibit only virtues such as the practice of the *vita contemplativa*, tireless prayer, humility, good deeds, celibacy and asceticism.

A portion of the saints spent a certain part of their lives as hermits. In the most typical scenes the hermit sits alone in the middle of a forest and reads.⁴⁴ The legends often contradict this: Clement spent his years in exile on an island with two hundred other Christians, although in the codex he is shown alone. The text of the legend of Gerhard mentions the monk Maurus, who was his companion in seclusion. The locations in the codex are signified by the usual features of a landscape: rocks, small trees, a stream.⁴⁵ In every case the hermit sits and



Fig. 66. Saint Christopher asking advices from a hermit, Morgan Library M.360.23 (L 97b)

reads. If there are two (such as Anthony and Paul, L 161c – and they are familiar to each other), then they sit side-by-side reading. The hermit does not even put his open book down, for example, when he gives advice (such as to Christopher, L 97b, Fig. 66). It is only when he has some other activity to do or an important event takes place that he sets aside his reading: Blaise has to deal with wild animals (L 88a), Giles is shot instead of the hunted prey (L 155d), Benedict is visited by the priest who informs him that Easter has arrived (L 139a).

The picture that diverges most significantly from these is the depiction of St John the Baptist in the desert: the saint stands in a fur cowl with a scroll in hand that reads:

Vox clamantis in dese[rto] (Jn 1,23; Mt 3,3). The landscape is non-specific, but the composition, the posture of John, and his clothes are distinct. Clearly the unique iconography of the saint is used here, while in the other cycles, readily available, general visual formulas were employed.

Another characteristic image type sheds light on the spiritual lives of the worldly saints. The typical scene: the saint keeps vigil and prays in a church (or other building) at night. We have two examples of this in the legend of Emeric (L 131a and c, Figs. 67 and 61) and it occurs in the cycle of Ladislav too (L 134b). The scenes in which James the Less prays in the Holy of Holies (L 71c, Fig. 19), the apostle Andrew prays before the cross (L 40a), and St Francis prays before the crucifix (Fig. 68) all belong to this

Fig. 67. Saint Emeric praying in a church, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 78r (L 131a)



image type. The saint always kneels facing the right, and clasps his hands (Francis crosses his arms) or perhaps recites a prayer from a book. And if he is not alone (although there are examples of this too: Emeric [III] and James the Less), then he is the main character in the picture, and his companions are generally minor players (standing guard, sleeping, or holding a candle – Andrew [XVII], Ladislav [VI] and Emeric [I]⁴⁶).

In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* there are also scenes of saints levitating. In Ladislav's case scenes from the cycles of preceding saints were certainly used as models (L 136d), while in the corresponding scenes in Anthony and Mary Magdalene another image type is used: angels lift the saints, enveloped in clouds, into the sky (L 141a, 168b).

Fig. 68. Saint Francis of Assisi praying to Jesus, Louvre RF 29940 (Pb)



Not only do Christians worship in this way, but pagans too. In the first scene of Bartholomew, we see pagans worshipping the idol Astaroth in this manner (L 73a, Fig. 55).⁴⁷ This folio is noteworthy because the succeeding images show converted pagans kneeling before Bartholomew with their faces to the saint and their backs to the idol, which then shatters. The change in direction of the worshippers symbolizes the results of successful evangelizing.

The apostles are shown kneeling on two sides and only Mary kneels, facing forward in the scene of Christ's Ascension into Heaven (L 16a, Fig. 12). This does not represent an innovation in a long-standing image type, but rather just a suspension of it for the sake of a well-established iconography.

Fig. 69., *Noli me tangere*, Morgan Library M.360.12 (L 15a)





Fig. 70. Saint Frances kneeling at the feet of the bishop of Assisi, Hermitage 16932 (L 148b)

The gesture of kneeling is an important element in numerous related image types. Just as they do when praying to God, the saints bow down before the power of the Heavens or its earthly representatives, who appear to them either in vision or in reality. Mary Magdalene kneels before Jesus (L 15a, Fig. 69),⁴⁸ John and Andrew before the Lord who appears before them (L 45a, 36a), and Ladislav also drops to his knees before the Virgin Mary. In these cases the composition is more dynamic than in the scenes mentioned above, since here the “monologue” expands into a visible dialogue. Consequently there are examples of kneeling figures facing both the right and the left. These are not simply mirror images, because the two sides are not equivalents and the

direction of the action moves mostly from left to right. Jesus expressly turns back towards Mary Magdalene who kneels on the left side of the picture. Jesus and Mary, indistinguishable from flesh-and-blood figures, appear before John and Ladislav as active participants – which is why the kneeling saints are seen in the right side of the picture. Andrew, however, is visited by the half-figure of Jesus appearing in the upper right corner.

Humility is expressed by kneeling not only towards the Lord but sometimes towards his representatives too. Donatus flees to a monk, and kneeling before him asks to be taken in (L 104d), while Christopher seeks advice from a hermit while kneeling (L 97b, Fig. 66). As usual, the author of the *titulus* misunderstands, and interprets this as confession.⁴⁹ Not only saints, but also simple mortals turn to members of the Church or other saints in the same way, as we see in the above-mentioned images of Bartholomew. A scene from Lawrence (L 80c) is worth examining from this perspective. In the image, small figures throng at the feet of the saint. The *titulus* interprets this as adoration.⁵⁰ In fact these are the cripples who were brought before the emperor when he tried to wrest the Church treasures from the saint. This is a simple misunderstanding, but it is typical that the figures lying at the feet of the saint immediately arouse a notion of adoration.

The youth who St John left in the care of the bishop also shows the respect due to a bishop (L 44a). Similarly, Francis kneels to the bishop of Assisi (L 148b, Fig. 70) – which is important because here an image type is used that does not correspond to the usual iconography. This same posturing is used for rulers too, and we see Thomas Becket kneeling to King Henry II (L 113a, Fig. 114), although this usage is rather rare. But the kings and bishops themselves on occasion fall to their knees before the saints, as in the story of Giles (L 156a).

In some cases it is difficult to determine whether kneeling is merely a sign of respect, or whether it expresses a request or supplication. The sinful Conrad, when he kneels

before the pope, expresses penitence and humility, but also a request for absolution.⁵¹ Other meanings associated with kneeling include motifs of gratitude,⁵² the taking of the sacraments,⁵³ acceptance of martyrdom⁵⁴ and supplication for miracles.⁵⁵ Sometimes the same visual formula conveys several meanings all on the same folio, which despite this complexity creates a visual unity. The first picture on the second page of the legend of George shows a beheading, while in the second and third scenes we see two failed attempts at execution (breaking on the wheel and cooking in burning oil), and in the last we see the saint begging for the destruction of a pagan temple. What these

have in common is that in each the main character kneels and prays to the Lord.⁵⁶ We see Francis kneeling five times, making him the most humble saint in the codex.⁵⁷

Expressions of piety and humility have other visual solutions too. In this respect two episodes from the surviving scenes of the life of Jesus draw our attention. In one Mary Magdalene anoints the feet of the Savior with oil (L 4a, Lk 7:36-38). In the other, companion scene, Jesus demonstrates his humility by washing the feet of the apostles (L 7d, Fig. 71). Here Jesus is shown lowering to one knee, in the other Mary Magdalene falls prostrate before Him. In the cycle of Francis we find a good

Fig. 71. Jesus washing the feet of the apostles, Morgan Library M.360.5 (L 7d)



Fig. 72. Saint Francis washing the feet of the lepers, Hermitage 16932 (L 148d)



example of the imitation of Christ, in which Francis, inspired by Christ, washes the feet of the lepers (L 148d, Fig. 72). The Jesus-like features of Francis are accentuated by the similar solutions employed in these two images. Both the legends of Francis and Louis of Toulouse also contain scenes in which the saint embraces a leper.⁵⁸

There is another characteristic image type associated with humility: in the legends of the apostles Paul (L 31b) and Matthew (L 66c), the saints are offered the crown, but do not accept it.⁵⁹ However, the linking feature is not the gestures the saints make (as a sign of humility Paul tears his robe, while Matthew calmly instructs his followers), but rather the offering of the crown. Especially characteristic is the presentation of gifts by others standing behind the figure holding out the crown.⁶⁰ In the

cycle of Alexis, humility is expressed when the saint disguises his rank and joins the beggars of Edessa (L 157c).

Humility and good deeds are interwoven in another image type. Louis of Toulouse invites twenty-five beggars to his table every day. In the miniature all twenty-five are painted, and to fit them in their size is smaller than average. The saint, however, appears on the same scale as in other images; thus he towers over his guests as he stands in the center amidst the tables, lifting up a platter (L 151a, Fig. 73). The text of the legend of Hilary in the *Golden Legend* also emphasizes humility when it describes how he lived in the world as a monk (as a result of some misunderstanding this figure appears in the codex as Hilary's daughter). The image type described above is used to express this notion: the girl in wealthy attire serves food to nuns (L 164a).

Fig. 73. Saint Louis of Toulouse serving twenty-five beggars
Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 92v (L 151a)



In addition to humility, these images are meant to highlight another virtue: generosity or the performance of good deeds. In the textual narratives, this quality is an important element in the saint's character. In the image cycles, however, the relationship between the gift giver and recipient is more easily rendered than the spiritual processes of the saint. One image type shows a large group receiving a donation (Gregory hands out food, while Alexis and Dominic distribute their fortune).⁶¹ The saint stands on the left side and offers his donation to a group of poor people (piling on top of each other) on the right side. They generally receive the gift stooped over, or sitting or kneeling on the ground. The image conveys both their acceptance of the present and their gratitude at the same time. In Demetrius we find a crowd gathering to witness the miracle performed by his relics, but the scene lacks any kind of concrete, epic background.⁶²

The other image type shows just two figures: the saint and the person he is helping. The saint stands on the left, while the other figure, generally represented on a smaller scale, kneels on the right side. The prototype of this scene is the image of St Martin sharing his robe with the beggar



Fig. 74. Saint Martin dividing his cloak with a beggar,
Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 77v (L 122a)



Fig. 75. Saint Francis of Assisi donating his clothes to the poor,
Louvre RF 29940 (Pc)

(Fig. 122a, Fig. 74). A similar depiction of St Giles is based on this image, with the other aspect of Giles' story (his tunic is used to heal someone) not visually prominent.⁶³ Francis's donation of his clothes (Pc, Fig. 75) represents a transition between these two image types, as other figures are also present.

In some scenes the multiple meanings of the same gesture cannot be separated. When Remy replenishes the widow's empty cask with wine, the woman kneeling on the right simultaneously expresses her respect for the saint, her request and her thanks (L 162b). Related to this is the scene mentioned above from the legend of St Lawrence: the poor who are brought before the emperor also turn to the saint with gestures of gratitude (L 80c).

One of the great virtues of the saints is their ability to maintain their purity. Their ancient enemies attack them most frequently on this point. In the legendary we see several scenes of temptation: naked girls dance before Benedict and his fellow monks (L 139c), a woman climbs into Bernard's bed at night (L 142b), and Paul the Hermit is driven to the desert in part because of the wanton women sent to divert Christians from their principles (L 161a). The composition of Bernard and the woman in bed can be traced back to an iconographic type showing the elderly David and Abishag, the girl sent to warm the bed. (I Kings 1:1-2).⁶⁴ The embracing pair from the cycle of Paul instead recalls images of encounters.⁶⁵ In Andrew, the devil disguised as a beautiful girl tempts a bishop who

is rescued by the apostle – in the image we see Satan just as he is parting from the girl’s body.⁶⁶ Here the temptation itself is not expressed, but rather the miraculous rescue from it through the revelation of the devil’s presence; the visual tools are those found in exorcism scenes.

Temptation could thus be addressed with several image types, depending on what element was considered important. Sometimes the temptation itself is not perceptible: Christopher is locked in a cell with two girls who are supposed to lead him astray, but the three are presented in an icon-like portrait (L 97d, Fig. 53). In the story of Genebald, who fathered two children with his former wife while he was bishop, the wife is shown kneeling before her husband to symbolize the forbidden relationship – her gesture signals humility and respect for the cleric (L 162d, 163a).

Fig. 76. Saint Dominic whipping himself, Morgan Library, M.360.26 (L 145a)



In order to resist temptation the saints frequently resort to mortification of the flesh. Benedict throws himself into a bush of thorns (L 139a); Francis, in a similar motion, jumps into the snow (L 149a); while Bernard immerses himself in ice water (L 142b). The other tool is self-flagellation, found in the cycles of Francis and Dominic (L 149a, 145a, Fig. 76). These motifs, which appear only among the monastic saints, create a visual unity in the group. This theme is illustrated most richly in the legend of Francis, linking him simultaneously to Dominic, Benedict, and Bernard, despite their varying methods of asceticism.

The images analyzed here present a very colorful picture of the saints’ pursuits of a virtuous life. The common element in these images is their task of visually expressing features fundamentally static in nature. What can be described in the text with simple adjectives is much more difficult to represent in images. As a solution, emotions and relationships are often presented in some kind of epic setting (with the text frequently serving as a starting point), or conveyed through the language of gestures. Relatively simple tools were used, often leading to misapprehensions, while at other times complex, multi-layered meanings could not be separated. It was considerably easier to follow the individual episodes of the narrative, such as miracles, passions and events relating to death. We shall address these in the following chapters.

IV.3. THE WORLD OF MIRACLES

“And he said to them, ‘Go into all the world and proclaim the good news to the whole creation. The one who believes and is baptized will be saved; but the one who does not believe will be condemned. And these signs will accompany those who believe: by using my name they will cast out demons; they will speak in tongues; they will pick up snakes in their hands, and if they drink any deadly thing, it will not hurt them; they will lay their

hands on the sick, and they will recover.” (Mk 16 15-18, New Oxford Annotated Bible). It almost seems that the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* wishes to illustrate this list of miracles, and numerous examples of them can be found in the codex.

What makes one a saint is not the performance of miracles, but rather the virtuous life; however, miracles reveal their saintliness. After all, miracles are ultimately the works of God,⁶⁷ although they frequently happen as a result of the saint’s worthiness. Oftentimes the saints are active participants in the miracle and other times their role is indirect and the miracle takes place through some object (e.g. stick, robe) associated with them. There are also times when the saints themselves are the objects of the miracle: they escape from a seemingly impossible

situation or are forewarned of some event. On occasion the miracle signals their future greatness.

This last miracle type generally appears at the beginnings of legends, and its role is to signify that the child has been chosen. An angel announces the birth of St John the Baptist (L 20c) and Zachariah, who has been dumb-struck, only regains his speech after the child is born (L 21a). The scene that comes between these two is the birth itself (L 20d): the visual expression of this relates to other birth scenes set indoors, such as the birth of Mary.⁶⁸ The miracle in Ambrose (in which bees fly in and out of his mouth [L 118a]) also follows the usual visual composition of birth scenes. The text of the legend, however, does not explain the reclining woman; this must derive from the image type. The birth of Christ, the most general birth

Fig. 77. Saint Brice calling upon a thirty-day-old child to bear witness and carrying glowing embers in his mantle, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 93v (L 154c-d)



composition which would have come at the beginning of the codex, did not survive. Nevertheless, this same scene is repeated in the legend of Bernard: the saint has a vision in his childhood that reveals the moment of Christ's birth (L 142a). This image, however, is related only because of the birth-vision iconography, since Bernard himself is shown as an adult in a monk's attire. In other words, the depiction does not reflect the role played by the event in the text: it does not convey the saint's calling to greatness.

Birth is signified not just by reclining women with infants beside them, but oftentimes by scenes of bathing too. In the birth scene of the child resurrected with the help of Louis of Toulouse, both situations appear – the *titulus* misinterprets the situation, and speaks of two girls.⁶⁹ The saintliness of Nicholas is also foreshadowed by a bathing scene: already when just one-day old the infant stands up in his wash basin. Visually the scenes of bathing relate to baptism scenes, but the baptism of a child only occurs once, in the legend of Dominic. This was only depicted because of a miraculous event (L 144a, Fig. 57: the woman sees a star on the forehead of the child).

The theme of infants appears in another characteristic situation: when a cleric is accused of fathering a child. The apostles Simon and Judas take the side of the deacon and ask the child to bear witness (L 70b); a similar scene takes place in the cycle of Brice whose purity is attested to by a baby (L 154c, Fig. 77). The two stories, however, are visually distinct. In the legend of the apostles, the scene is painted on the model of courtroom trials, and nothing refers to the miracle. In the cycle of Brice, however, the gesture of the bishop shows that he is performing a miracle.

Because the people are still not convinced by this miracle, Brice must perform another one to prove his innocence: he places burning coals in his robe and heads to the grave of St Martin without any harm coming to his garment (L 154d, Fig. 77). Here a miraculous event is shown, but the necessary intervention that makes this possible is not rendered. More typical are those examples in which

the saint manages to perform a miracle with some kind of intervention – requesting it in prayer or with a gesture of blessing. A good example of this is Donatus and Peter Martyr (L 106b, 102a), who pray for rain and clouds. In this type of image the saint kneels on the left, with the crowd on the right, also kneeling. All of them pray, which results in clouds gathering above them, or it begins to pour. Scholastica also prays for rain so that Benedict will stay with her and not go back to the monastery – the gesture and body position is the same, although in this case the respect due an abbot is also expressed by the kneeling pose (L 140b, Fig. 34).

This type also recurs in one of the miracles of Ladislav, when the saint's starving army prays for food (L 133d): the king on one knee in the left of the image clasps his hands together; opposite him is the group of animals that arrive to help. Wild animals also feed Blaise during his life in seclusion, but here the animals bring food of their own will, without the bishop prompting them. Blaise's gestures towards them refer to his healing the sick animals (L 88a). The animals often willingly hurry (obviously at the urging of the Lord, but without any visible sign of the saint's intervention) to help those in need: a raven brings bread to St Paul, a wolf brings Anthony to his fellow hermit, and lions dig the grave for the deceased Paul (L 161b-c-d); ravens and eagles guard the corpses of Vincent and Stanislaw, who fell prey to wild animals. Francis's sermon signifies a new kind of relationship with the birds: the miraculous nature of this scene is the way the birds listen attentively to St Francis, who is not in need of help; instead he has turned to the birds with love, as they are God's creatures (L 149a).

The relationship between animals and people, however, is not always peaceful, and sometimes the saint has to fend off the dangers presented by wildlife. Demetrius uses the sign of a cross, which in the picture is identical to a gesture of blessing, to dispose of a scorpion (L 109b). He uses the same motion in the next image to bless Nestor. At other times, in keeping with the words of the gospel,



Fig. 78. The temptation and consolation of Saint Anthony the Great, Hermitage 16934 (L 140c-d)

the saints triumph over snakes: Hilary chases them off the island of Gallinaria (L 164c), while the apostles Simon and Judas gather up the snakes that were set upon them without being injured (L 69d). In the latter scene the miracle serves as a persuasive argument in the dispute over the truth of Christianity, just as it does in Sylvester's story, in which the saint brings a large bull back to life (L 115d). Hilary stands on the left of the picture, facing forward, and he makes a gesture of blessing with his right, and warning with his left. The shamed sorcerer stands next to him and is shown on a smaller scale.

During a debate with sorcerers, Matthew similarly struggles with a dragon (L 65b-c). The gesture here is the

same: the apostle on the left uses a motion of blessing to urge them to leave. His method is the same as that of James' disciples, who defeat the dragon with the sign of the cross (L 55c). Donatus similarly renders the beast that inhabits spring water harmless (196a). Sylvester's actions are more direct when he wraps a rope around the neck of a dragon (L 116a) as are George's, who stands up to the dragon according to the customary iconography (L 90a).

But oftentimes the evil forces directly attack the saint, and he does not always have enough strength to defend himself. Anthony at first suffers horribly from the torment of devils (L 140c) but withstands it, and later the Lord offers consolation (L 140d, Fig. 78). Both image

types find analogies in the legends of the Franciscans: a scene in Francis serves as the companion to the former (L 149b), while the latter is repeated in the nighttime prayer of St Louis of Toulouse. Here, he calls Mary for help against the devil (Bd). In the cycle of Ladislav, the king uses a cross to drive away the devil that attacks him while he is keeping vigil (L 134c-d, 135a).

The apostle Andrew chases the demons away at the gate to the city of Nicea: his hand is raised in blessing, and the people kneel around him in prayer as the devil flies off to the right (L 37d). Cosmas and Damian oust the devils attacking the face of the king; they each use one of the customary gestures: one makes a motion of blessing and the other of warning (L 99b, Fig. 79). This

brings us to those scenes of exorcism that are closely related to other forms of healing and resurrection. The saint generally rescues a person standing or lying before him, usually with a gesture of blessing – what is new, however, is that in some way he approaches, or even touches the individual waiting to be healed.⁷⁰

Scenes of healing are constructed from stereotypes similar to the visual elements used in images of exorcisms.⁷¹ In almost every case, the saint uses his right hand to bless the sick individual, and frequently places his hand on his head or reaches toward him and grasps his hand. The patient generally lies or sits in front of him, or occasionally stands. Sometimes there are witnesses, who usually kneel in prayer during the miracle, or observe, as the soldiers who

Fig. 79. Saints Cosmas and Damian ousting the devil, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 56r (L 99b)



Fig. 80. Saint Augustine healing a child, Hermitage 16931 (L 120a)



guard James and Blaise do (L 51d, 88b). Apostles or monks might also be present (John in the legend of Peter [L 24c], Bartholomew in the legend of Paul [L 31a], and Dominican and Franciscan friars respectively in the legends of Peter Martyr and Francis [L 102b, c, 149d]). More unusual are those depictions that tell of miraculous healings, as in the three relevant scenes from the legend of Augustine (L 120a, b, c, Figs 30 and 80). In the first he rescues a boy suffering from kidney problems, and the youth leaps off the operating table healed; in the second we see the usual scene of healing, but only the half-figure of the saint appears; in the third, the visual composition simply follows the models of visitations, and the recovery of the multitude is not conveyed. In the first scene in the cycle of Giles, once again the visual formula only relates one aspect of the events: the offering of the tunic appears as a simple donation, and there is no expression of healing. Also interesting is when the use of an image type contradicts the text: when Francis saves a man whose throat is pierced with a sword, a customary visual formula is used to narrate the story, although according to the legend the circumstances were entirely different (L 14d, Fig. 106)⁷²

Resurrections are similar to healings in that the saint generally is shown leaning over the body. The gesture of blessing, however, is not as common,⁷³ while images of the saint pulling up the corpse occur more frequently.⁷⁴ In another variation the saint himself does not turn toward the corpse, but prays to God, who performs a miracle: this is signified by the appearance of the Lord in upper right corner.⁷⁵ If the saint does not lift up the dead, then they stand up or kneel themselves, and sometimes the return of their souls takes place in a visual form.⁷⁶ The witnesses here too generally fall to their knees. Sometimes the objects belonging to the saint are sufficient to carry out a miracle: even in the hands of someone else, Peter the apostle's stick and St John the Evangelist's robe are able to bring someone back to life.⁷⁷

The legend of St Martin narrates an event in which a man sentenced to death by hanging is saved. In the



Fig. 81. Saint Martin saving an innocent, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 77v (L 122c)

image he is shown leading the condemned figure from under the gallows (L 122c, Fig. 81). This is analogous not to scenes of resurrection, but to those of liberation. The latter are characterized by the saint (after death) visiting those languishing in prison and leading them out. In other images of liberation, the emphasis is on movement as in the image of Martin: Francis and Mary Magdalene lead a man out of prison; the freed man kneels before St James, but even in this scene we can feel the motion.⁷⁸ Liberation from prison resembles scenes of healing and resurrection in that here too the saints touch the person they are protecting.

In these images the saints do not have a physical reality, but are visions – just like Augustine in scenes of posthumous healing. The visions create an identical visual world, and it makes no difference if the saints themselves



Fig. 82. Saint Gregory the Great warning his successor, Morgan Library M.360.25 (L 117b)



Fig. 83. Saint Gregory the Great beating his successor, Morgan Library M.360.25 (L 117c)

appear after death or if they are visited by the Lord, Mary, or an angel. There are two types: either the figure is shown in full, life-size form or in a half figure – in this case usually in the upper right corner. Their functions may differ too. Sometimes the angels bring news,⁷⁹ and in special cases they foretell death;⁸⁰ in the exceptional case of St John the apostle, Christ himself informs him of his imminent passing (L 45a). In other cases they give instructions: the Lord sends Andrew to Murgundia (L 36a); Sebastian arranges his own funeral (L 85c). If things go badly, they intervene: Gregory warns, and in fact beats his stingy successor (L 117b-c, Figs. 82–83); Paul warns Nero (L 35d). They also console the Christians who find themselves in prison: Christ or the angels appear to Peter,

Mark, Vincent, and Demetrius.⁸¹ In addition, they aid their followers,⁸² erase sins,⁸³ and heal wounds.⁸⁴ Sometimes highly unusual visions are depicted, such as that of John the Evangelist on Patmos (L 41b) or Dominic's dream, in which Mary, calling upon only him and Francis, saves the world from the wrath of Christ (L 114d, Fig. 84). These are based on an established iconography. In presenting the miracle of Stanislaw, the visions employ the usual tools, but in a more elaborate form: the half figure of the saint, shown blessing, appears in the church in full church vestments in the company of other youths and surrounded by light; his followers kneel before him. This vision does not have a concrete objective. The saint does not intervene in anyone's life; only his appearance

is important – since this precedes his canonization, and it was just these kinds of miracles that contributed to the pope’s decision to make Stanislaw a saint. The depiction therefore emphasizes only the saintliness of the bishop – this function obviously hovers in the background of the other images too, but is never quite as prominent.

The saints participate in the world of miracles in two ways: either the miracle happens to them or they make it happen (i.e. it happens through them). The former takes place in childhood or in a difficult situation, while the latter usually takes the form of miraculous good deeds, exorcisms, healings, resurrections and liberations from prison. The visual world of miracles is rather unified: the saint generally makes a gesture of blessing or warning, and may

even touch the characters in the event. Other times, the saint kneels and prays for the miracle himself: the basic type for this is the prayer for rain, but this type is also common in resurrection scenes (in contrast to images of exorcisms and healings – apparently the resurrection is an act of such significance that direct supplication to the Lord is necessary). Generally, the miracle is not performed for its own sake, but also serves to persuade non-believers: witnesses frequently fall to their knees or are converted. It also seems important that the saint have a companion: having accompaniment comes with the rank of saint, but it also ensures that there are witnesses to miracles.⁸⁵

The world of miracles is quite wide: from inanimate and animate nature to supernatural devils and angels, it encompasses the entire universe. The saints and the power of the Lord know no boundaries, and they cannot be defeated: the opponents of Christianity become acquainted with the strength of faith through the numerous miracles. These, however, form inseparable parts of the passions of the saints, thus we will deal with them in the next chapter.

Fig. 84. The Holy Virgin saving the world in the dream of Saint Dominic, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 90v (L 144d)



IV.4. IMAGES OF SUFFERING

In the stock of images in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, passion stories form one of the largest groups, although naturally we find them primarily in the group of martyrs and apostles who suffered martyrdom. The passions can be broken up into several well-defined episodes, which follow in a strict, logical sequence. The beginning of the passion is generally signaled by capture, followed by trial, which provides the judge or ruler with an opportunity to carry on a religious dispute. Next comes a scene of imprisonment. Then we see the saint in prison, and in some cases they experience a vision: Christ and the angels may appear to console the saint. The saints are often miraculously freed from prison (usually in the case of the

apostles), or the torture begins. The torture scenes themselves form their own separate series, especially if the objective of the torture fails time and again. Finally the story generally ends with beheading. Especially hardened (and enraged after the first failure), rulers attempt to defile the corpse, but they never succeed. The heavens take revenge for the torture; the dead bodies meanwhile are placed to rest by Christians.

One clear type of arrest scene can be found in the legend of Donatus (L 106c). The bishop stands on the left and two soldiers grab him by the chasuble and drag him toward the right side of the picture.⁸⁶ In other scenes the arrest is represented by binding the saint. In the cycle of John, a rope is placed around the apostle's neck as he is led to the temple of Diana.⁸⁷ In the cycle of James, the scribe who converts after witnessing the apostle miraculously heal a paralytic is stopped and his hands are bound (L 52b). At the same time, the element of binding makes two aspects in the arrest of Paul clear: his arrest is accompanied by beating, and thus relates to scenes of torture (L 33b-c). In two other cases the saint is dragged from the pulpit: a soldier grabs Philip by the neck (L 67c), while James the Less is pulled down by the arm (L 72b, Fig. 85). The common feature in the arrest scenes is the binding of the saint and the physical contact with the soldiers – any abuse is just extra. The captured saint is then immediately taken away: *et iam ducitur*.⁸⁸

Related to these are scenes of imprisonment. In the case of Vincent, for example, this takes place when he is arrested, before the trial scene (L 86a). The soldiers always lead the saints from the left into a building, which is obviously the prison. Sometimes the saint looks back expressing protest,⁸⁹ although this is not always discernible: Lawrence crosses his arms in front of his chest, which is generally a symbol of piety (L 79c).

The imprisonment itself is generally not depicted,⁹⁰ but when there are prison scenes, the goal is to show that even here the saint is active⁹¹ or to describe an auspicious



Fig. 85. Saint James the Less is arrested during preaching, scene VI, Morgan Library M.360.18 (L 72b)

event that brings comfort: Paul visits Peter,⁹² Christ or the angels appear,⁹³ and an angel crowns Demetrius.⁹⁴ There are also examples of this scene paving the way for the next one: Philetus gives a boy the miraculous scarf, which helps him to get free, or a prisoner is shown just prior to being freed by James (L 49a and 60b). In these depictions the half-length figure uniformly appears behind bars; thus the image is detached from the rest of the scene, a “picture within a picture.”

In the images from the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, prisoners only leave the jail by miraculous means – if the soldiers lead the prisoner off to execution this is not shown. Only angels can free someone: they escort the saint through an open gate either walking behind (the disciples

of James the Greater) or in front of (Andrew and Matthew) the prisoner. In the latter picture the text of the *Golden Legend* does not mention angels; thus this figure derives from the image type.⁹⁵ At other times the angel flies in front of the saint and leads him out in this way.⁹⁶ In some pictures, the prison itself collapses.⁹⁷ The most interesting, however, is when the saint flies out the prison window with the help of the apostles and angels (L 25c). These scenes are related to those in which the saint frees his followers from prison but they are not completely identical.⁹⁸ It is worth noting that although Christ consoles his followers in prison, he sends the angels to free them.

The imprisoned, but not yet condemned, saint is led before the ruler or the governor. These are the interrogation scenes. The saint is generally shown on the left, and the soldiers guard him, while the ruler sits opposite him on the throne. The arrest is sometimes signified by the saint's bound hands, and in this case, he generally remains silent,⁹⁹ although the apostle Paul, even with bound hands, argues his case (L 34c). More commonly the saint's hands are not tied, and he gesticulates freely.¹⁰⁰ The ruler who presides over the interrogation generally listens with his right hand raised in front of his chest and his left arm lowered. This scene is always exactly the same, even when the interrogation scene takes place under peaceful circumstances: Gerhard argues with King Stephen in the same way as the martyrs do with the cruel rulers (L 112a, Fig. 115). The powerful influence of this image type may explain why King Stephen is depicted without his halo, since in this type the ruler usually has a negative role. When Thomas Becket is presented, the audience has a courtly character: Thomas kneels before the king, and the bishop standing beside him introduces him.

In the scenes mentioned above, the rulers usually just listen to the saint's arguments while in others the ruler is shown engaging in a heated debate.¹⁰¹ The composition is livelier if a trial is used to decide the dispute: Peter and Paul match their strengths against Simon the magician,

John drinks a glass of poison, and Simon and Judas pick up snakes.¹⁰²

A related image type, the court hearing, sometimes replaces this. The judge always wears an elegant red gown trimmed with fur, and a fur *chaperon* on his head. He sits on a throne, and behind him we sometimes see a curtain similar to those belonging to the ruler's throne (L 64a). In the most characteristic images, the judge occupies the center space, while the two parties in the case argue from either side (L 37a, 70b). In one scene, the Heavenly Judge mentioned in the *Golden Legend* is shown in clothing similar to that of earthly judges. In this image the debate between the devil and James is also similar to the court scenes (L 58b).

Fig. 86. Saint Bartholomew being flayed, Morgan Library M360.21 (L 75c)



The interrogation scenes generally end with the pagan ruler unable to break the saint's resistance, therefore he orders him to be tortured or immediately executed. In one group, torture is represented by whipping. The source of this composition is the flagellation of Jesus (L 10c), which the torture scenes in Paul (L 33d) and Andrew (L 39d) closely adhere to. The symmetry of the composition, and the placement of the disrobed victim in the center characterize several other, similarly conceived scenes: Sebastian being shot with arrows (which also follows the accepted iconography, L 85a), or those depictions in which the saint is tortured with an iron rake or torch.¹⁰³ The scenes in which Vincent is placed on a hot grill and Bartholomew is flayed comprise an independent compositional group: in

both, the saint lies diagonally, while the executioners surround him to do their work (L 86c, 75c, Fig. 86).

Scenes of beatings provide an opportunity to create the most dynamic torture compositions. There is a relatively great number of this type.¹⁰⁴ Generally the martyrs and apostles are beaten by several people armed with sticks and sometimes whips and the victims are even stripped of their clothes. In Cosmas and Damian, the limbs of the saints are twisted. The beatings sometimes result directly in the death of the saint: Simon and Judas are beaten to death, while Demetrius is not only beaten but stabbed.

The saints in these situations are shown in the most varied positions, rolling on the ground or with twisted limbs. They generally meet death on their knees as if they were

Fig. 87. The martyrdom of Saint James the Less,
Morgan Library M.360.18 (L 72c)



Fig. 88. Saint Francis of Assisi is beaten by his father,
Louvre RF 29940 (Pd)





Fig. 89. Saints Cosmas and Damian crucified and stoned, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 56r (L 99d)



Fig. 90. Saints Cosmas and Damian crucified and shot by arrows, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 57v (L 100a)

praying. The prototype of this is the stoning of Stephen the Protomartyr, who kneels praying for his enemies as he waits for death. In the upper right corner *Manus Dei* offers blessing (L 78c). James the Less, who was stoned and then beaten to death (these are depicted simultaneously), accepts death in a similar pose (L 72c, Fig. 87). Francis is also beaten with sticks and stones (Pd, Fig. 88), and the composition of the image is based on the pattern of Stephen's martyrdom.

Stonings and arrow-shootings do not always follow the above composition. In the case of Cosmas and Damian, stoning is combined with crucifixion, which determined the construction of the image (L 99d, 100a, Figs. 89–90). Special methods of crucifixion were used

for Peter and Andrew: here the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* employs the usual iconography.¹⁰⁵

Unusual execution methods (and their corresponding image types) also appear in the pages of the codex: attempts were made to cook John and George in oil, and also to break George on the wheel (L 92b), but the executioners fail. In the first two images the results of the torture are not discernible, but in the latter they are: an angel descends from the sky and destroys the wheel with a sword. In each case the saints pray to the Lord.

Similarly unsuccessful is the attempt to burn the two women who stand by Blaise at the stake: this is signified by *Manus Dei* (L 89b). The method fails with Cosmas and



Fig. 91. Saints Cosmas and Damian being put into fire,
Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 56r (L 99c)

Damian too, although there is nothing to indicate this (L 99c, Fig. 91). The scholars converted by Catherine suffer martyrdom, but their bodies are unharmed; in the picture we see the virgin saint, who is praying for them, and the ruler next to the stake (L 170d). Eustace and his family are also martyred in a burning hot bull, but their bodies are removed intact (L 160d). Here the saints themselves are praying and we see the emperor who orders their execution.

The many execution attempts of Cosmas and Damian include trying to drown them. Pope Clement was also thrown into water, and the body of Vincent was similarly defiled. These pictures have similar compositions: the body of the saint is being swallowed by foam under the rocking boat.¹⁰⁶

Those scenes of martyrdom are all outdone by images of the saints being killed before the altar. Matthew is struck down from behind by a soldier, while Stanislaw receives his fatal blow from King Boleslaw as he gives a sermon, and Thomas Becket is killed in a church.¹⁰⁷ The death of St Peter of Verona (L 102d) follows the saint's established iconography, although the kneeling saint and the murderer raising his sword link the image to other beheading scenes in the codex.

In the pages of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* most saints suffer martyrdom by beheading.¹⁰⁸ These scenes are extremely similar. The saint greets death in a kneeling position, his hands clasped in prayer. The last words of St Paul the apostle can also be read ("Jesus", in accordance with the *Golden Legend*, L 35a). In the majority of scenes the head is already separated from the body (with the exception of Sixtus, L 104a). The executioner is just striking or has put away his sword (as in the execution scenes of Fabian, Blaise, George, and Donatus).¹⁰⁹ The presence of the Lord is only indicated once: the *Manus Dei* appears in the upper right corner during the execution of Paul.

The heavenly powers, however, have not forgotten about their followers, and their wrath is felt as they issue sleet, lightning and rivers of fire upon the torturers and murderers.¹¹⁰ The appearance of an angel signals the supernatural origins of these phenomena (L 37c); for example, the angel strikes the Jews preparing to disturb the burial procession of the Virgin Mary (L 18b), and angels swoop down upon those setting fire to Andrew's house (L 36d). According to the will of the Lord even a dragon has on one occasion a positive role: the apostle Philip is saved by a dragon attacking the son of the pagan priest and his two tribunals (L 67d).

If evil-doers could not control a saint during his or her lifetime, they try to take revenge after death. In one picture the corpse of Sebastian is thrown in a sewer (L 85b). This image is similar to the depiction of the concealment

of the corpses of John and Paul: their bodies are tossed into the pit (L 94b) just as Sebastian's is dumped into the sewer.

The other method of defilement is to throw the dead body to the wild beasts. Stanislaw's body is first chopped up and then left to the animals (L 107d-108a), and Vincent's earthly remains meet a similar fate (L 87b). But the Heavens always ensure that some creature among the soulless animals acts as guardian of the saints, usually eagles or ravens.

Despite their large numbers, images of the passion can easily be categorized, and quite frequently are built on stereotypes. The various methods of torture and execution have their own image types, but these interact and blend. Selection of an appropriate composition here too depends on what meaning the designers of the program wished to emphasize. The saints who are not broken by any kind of torture generally accept death with piety and prayer and the Lord does not forget them either. He not only helps them to withstand torture and foil execution attempts, but after death He takes care of the corpse. Thus, despite all the machinations of the pagans, the saints are still buried in their final resting place with dignity. The next chapter addresses these scenes.

IV.5. IMAGES OF THE LAST RITES

The majority of image cycles in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* end with scenes related to Last Rites: death and questions concerning the corpse. The saint learns of his imminent passing, he peacefully acquiesces and is laid to rest, his relics are transported and on the way they usually perform miracles.¹¹¹ These scenes, especially those of burial, generally have few textual sources or none at all – and in fact, when there is a source it may contradict what we see in the picture. After all the scenes were constructed according to image types and these did not allow for much adjustment to the events in the written

legends. So we can see it was not the texts that called for the inclusion of these scenes, but rather the logic of the narrative: most of the time the burial signifies the end of the cycle, like a period at the end of a sentence.¹¹²

The most extensive presentation of Last Rites is naturally found in the cycle of Mary's death – since the entire series is devoted to this theme (L 17-19). The legend has serious iconographic traditions, which the painter of the codex relied on. Later, in other legends these image types recur. At the beginning of the cycle the angel informs Mary of her approaching death, and the iconographic model is the Annunciation. The next image, also important in this respect, shows Mary bidding farewell to her friends and family. The death scene that follows uses an iconography of Byzantine origins, which contains unique features such as the participation of Christ and the angels, a motif which of course does not recur later. In other respects, however, the image corresponds to the image type used throughout the codex. In the next picture we see the burial procession – a scene rarely depicted, although analogous images do exist. Finally the apostles place the Virgin in her grave: here an angel carries out the duties elsewhere performed by humans. The closing scene of the cycle is Mary's Assumption into Heaven and her coronation, and naturally has its own special iconography. There is, however, an image that does not usually occur: Mary's body is bathed and embalmed by several virgins. This scene would not logically come here, and according to the text of the *Golden Legend* it comes before the burial procession. Perhaps the rare iconography confused the designers of the program; in any case this scene does not occur elsewhere.¹¹³

The death of Mary contains the most important image types that will later recur in other legends as part of Last Rites. However, a (peaceful) death and burial rarely appear in the same cycle.¹¹⁴ The *translation* and miracles associated with the relics sometimes replace these scenes, or merely complement them.¹¹⁵ While their role in the progression of

the narrative is similar (to bring about closure), their function is much more than that: they generally indicate a saint of Central European or Angevin connections.

Usually angels announce death. Only John the Evangelist is so privileged as to have Christ himself appear before him (L 45a) – the iconography for this is the same as for other visions. Giles and Dominic, on the other hand, are visited by angels (L 156d, 145b, Fig. 92). Giles learns of his death while on his knees, showing proper respect for the heavenly apparition, and in the background we see a bed indicating his bedroom.¹¹⁶ Dominic is also informed of his death by an angel who appears in the upper right corner of the image. He is thus prompted to

Fig. 92. Saint Dominic informed of his death by an angel, Morgan Library M.360.26 (L 145b)



give final advice to his fellow monks, one of whom kneels before him while the other two sit beside him. This depiction shows the mergence of two image types: the announcement of death and the bidding of farewell.

Aside from the cycle of Mary, only Bernard's contains a pure farewell scene; it seems the founders of the order considered it especially important to supply their fellow monks, now left to their own devices, with plenty of advice. Bernard sits in his deathbed and blesses those kneeling before him and gives them orders. The crowd of monks opposite listens attentively to his words (L 143c). Another method of preparing for death is to take the sacraments, which has already been discussed in the chapter on liturgical acts. Here we shall look at just two scenes in which Louis of Toulouse and Mary Magdalene bid farewell to life. St Louis kneels before a cross held up by a priest, while some tonsured figures (other monks?) gather behind him. The bed, the only furnishing depicted, is once again connected with the approaching death (L 151b, Fig. 64). The composition of Mary Magdalene's last communion repeats that of the preceding levitation scene: here the angels support her, but the witness on the right side of the image is not the kneeling cleric but the bishop Maximin, who has administered the communion (L 168c).¹¹⁷

The arrival of death or the moments immediately following were the subjects of a relatively common image type (e.g. NYb, Fig. 93).¹¹⁸ The deceased is always shown lying in bed with his head in the left of the image. A blanket covers his body, his hands (if visible) are clasped, and his head generally droops. The composition of the group surrounding him depends on the situation: the female pilgrim who dies on the way to Compostela is surrounded by her family, while the prince, later resurrected by Matthew, has his parents at his side. Fellow monks gather round Francis, while bishops and noblemen are at the bedside of King Ladislav.¹¹⁹ The death of Fabian's predecessor is important because it leads to the selection of Fabian as successor. The usual visual formula is employed,



Fig. 93. The death of Saint Francis of Assisi,
Metropolitan Museum 1994.516 (NYb)

and the deceased pope's rank is indicated by the bishops and cardinals at his side. At the bedside of Vincent, two soldiers stand looking helplessly as the saint slips from their grasp. The people gathered usually express a great deal of emotion through their gestures. One type is an arm raised high to express great pain, and is a typical expression of women and children.¹²⁰ Men generally show their deep sorrow by raising their right hand to their face, burying it in their palm.¹²¹

The dead body of Alexis is only discovered after his passing. The compositional placement of his body is unlike that in typical death-mourning scenes, and shows greater similarities to scenes of defilement of the body.¹²²



Fig. 94. The burial of Saint Gerhard,
Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 69v (L 112d)

The people gathered around, however, react as expected in the death-mourning scenes. In the next image we see the burial procession, and this is the only such depiction besides that in the cycle of Mary's death.

Perhaps the most common recurring image type in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is the burial scene (e.g. L 112d, Fig. 94).¹²³ In the majority of cases this consists of nothing more than the placement of the body into the sarcophagus; here one or two undistinguished figures help. Exceptions are found in the cycle of Mary, in which an angel performs the task; in the burials of Peter and Andrew, in which it is haloed saints; and in the burial of Stanislaw, who is aided by a bishop. The cycle of Jerome

is unusual with the saint being placed in a grave inside a rock. The burial of St Paul the Hermit is also uncommon, as his grave was dug by lions. More rarely, the saint lies on a bier (sometimes just like a bed) – this is more closely related to death scenes, but the burial liturgy renders the situation clear. The performance of the liturgy is sometimes referred to by the clerics singing in the background (L 29d, 78d, 119b), and the bishop who performs the burial has a candle in his hand.¹²⁴ Sometimes processional crosses appear in the background too (L 138a, 168d). At the burial of Paul the Hermit, Anthony reads the text of the ceremony from a book (L 161d), an object that frequently occurs, although not usually in the hand of the celebrant, but in that of an escort.

Who is present at a funeral? In the majority of cases at least one bishop, but sometimes more: four bishops are present at the burial of Mark, three at the burials of Stanislaw and Ladislav, and two at that of Fabian and Emeric – the number also relates to the importance of the saint, although in the case of Mark it is difficult to find justification. At other times it is not the number of bishops but rather the presence of other highly-ranked church officials that adds luster to the event: for example, a cardinal participates at the burial of Sylvester.¹²⁵ Naturally at the burial of Bernard the majority of participants are other monks. Several different groups of clerics are also represented at these events: deacons as well as tonsured and hooded, older and younger monks. How death and burial scenes differ in the eyes of those present is also worth examining. At the deathbed of Ladislav secular elites are present alongside prelates, while only church figures take part in the burial. In contrast laypeople are represented at the burial of Emeric. The location of the burial varies, but frequently there is some kind of architectural detail referring to a closed space, naturally a church, which is sometimes signified by an altar.¹²⁶ Landscape elements crop up only at the burials of Jerome, Paul the Hermit, and Hilary – in the last case the reason for this is unclear.

Burial scenes thus in part show great constancy, and the basic elements of the composition do not change. At the same time, the addition or exchange of certain elements conveys the unique features of the story. This is served primarily by the individualization of the deceased; generally they are depicted with a papal or episcopal mitre, in the robes of a monk or king. Sometimes they have an attribute (for example, James with the shell), or bear traces of torture, though the surroundings and the selection of participants can also bear traces of individualization. The two basic types (placement of the body into the sarcophagus or the body laid out on a bier) probably serve no function of differentiation; if two burial

Fig. 95. The body of Saint Gerhard carried by oxen miraculously, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 69v (L 112c)





Fig. 96. The miracle of Conrad at the tomb of Saint Emeric, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 79v (L 132d)

scenes appear on the same page, then both types were employed just for variety (L 78 and 119).

The saints, however, sometimes reach their final resting place only much later. The body of James the Greater was not safe in Palestine, so his followers brought him to Hispania. The translation, as in every case, here too takes place amid miraculous circumstances: an angel guides the boat from the sea, and the boat itself transforms into a sarcophagus when they reach shore.¹²⁷ The other type of miraculous *translation* is transport by wagon. Three examples of this are known from the codex from the legends of

James, Gerhard (L 112c, Fig. 95), and Ladislav. All three express something different,¹²⁸ but the composition is fundamentally the same, especially in the scenes from James and Gerhard although in the case of the latter, no people are present.

In their new location, the saint's relics are enthusiastically venerated: a woman prostrates herself before the sarcophagus of James (perhaps the converted Queen Lupa, L 56a),¹²⁹ and several others kneel in prayer at the grave of Ladislav.¹³⁰ But the miracles are what popularize the center of the saint's cult.¹³¹ Miracles performed at the grave are found in the cycles of Ladislav, Emeric (L 132d, Fig. 96), Stanislaw, Martin, and Mary Magdalene. Stanislaw, the bishop of Cracow, resurrects the son of a Hungarian. The boy and his family then place an offering of a rooster and three loaves of bread on Stanislaw's grave, which is decorated on the side with half figures. Meanwhile, the sins of Conrad and Stephen of Flanders are forgiven by Emeric and Mary Magdalene; the grave of Ladislav in Várad becomes a site of worship; and the purity of Brice is proven at the grave of Martin. In the majority of examples, the object of the miracle comes into physical contact with the grave, except in the cycle of Mary Magdalene. Here clerics pray before her sarcophagus, but the saint appears before them – the influence of the image type of visions is clear.

The legend of another saint, Demetrius, also ends with his relics performing many miracles.¹³² In this case, the robe and ring of the saint are the objects of the cult, and Demetrius' strength is quickly demonstrated by the expulsion of a demon. The composition of the depiction does not follow that of exorcisms but rather generosity – since this is really what the picture is about. In death just as in life, the saints relay divine gifts through their miracles to those who pray to them. The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* contains a host of examples illustrating this concept.

NOTES

- 1 Bucher 1970. See Part II, Chapter 5.
- 2 Schmidt 1956. See Part II, Chapter 5.
- 3 Ross 1993, 27–37, 133 ff.
- 4 Although Jerome is regarded generally as a cardinal, his legend informs that he was to be elected a pope. This scene (L 121b) is discussed here because of its visual tools.
- 5 Two times it is not clear enough: L 118b, 164b.
- 6 Note that it is not the papal tiara in the strictest sense. The papal headgear was a simple hat in the seventh century which became double in the 13th century and triple from 1303. At the time the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* was created this new type was already in use, however it was not represented yet; in frescos attributed to Giotto the lower part of the papal tiara was decorated with small triangles (as that of Gregory in his second page in the legendary, L 117), and the upper part is striped (Assisi, Rome: S. Giovanni in Laterano etc.). The papal mitre with checkered upper part is represented in the St Sylvester cycle of the SS. Quattro Coronati in Rome (1246).
- 7 Altogether papal mitre is represented in 32 pictures. The vertical strip is missing only from the headgear of Sixtus (L 103a-d, 104a-b), in all other cases it is applied or not visible being represented from the side (as L 116c, 121c, 132b, 158d, 162b). In one single case it cannot be judged because of the bad state of the miniature (L 117a). Once the papal mitre is differentiated in another way (L 158c. The same pope wears in the next image the usual mitre), and in another case the (negative) figure, identifiable on the basis of the text as a pope, wears a normal episcopal mitre (L 117d). However, it also happens that a bishop is represented with a papal mitre (in the story of Giles, L 156a), perhaps because he is the pair of the Visigothic king. The significance of the differentiation is already proved in the cycles of Jerome and Gregory the Great.
- 8 Note that according to liturgical prescriptions three bishops are needed for the consecration of a new one. Radó 1961, 1015–25, esp. 1023–24.
- 9 See *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Stuttgart: Metzler, 1999, Bd. 2, 1575.
- 10 The curtain is connected in the images of legendary to bedrooms (22 cases), other inner spaces (131a and 140b), dining rooms (7b, 8b), audience halls (17 cases), baptisms (4 cases and once a bath similarly painted) and altars (11 cases).
- 11 This has probably no real significance and can possibly be explained with the composition. The first two pictures of the page depicts the saint in the presence of the king (in a similar composition), the last one shows the saint celebrating a mass. If the third picture was similar to the last one, the page would have looked too monotonous.
- 12 Beside the two scenes of consecration of the nuns, there are only four images with the representation of nuns, i.e. St Scholastica (L 140b), the wife of Genebaldus twice (L 162d–163a), and the daughter of Hilary serving for nuns (L 164a).
- 13 Liturgy conceives the crowning analogous to consecration of bishops, as well as the consecration of monks, Radó 1961, 1032–33 (De consecratione et coronatione regis), 1028–30 (De consecratione professionis monasticae).
- 14 The consecration is preceded by a miracle in infancy (L 118a) resp. the act of humility (L 164a. Taking into account the original intentions of the legend, this is explicitly preparing the next scene).
- 15 Writing is represented in the legend of St John the Baptist, Zachariah writing down the name of his son (L 21a) and Bernard dictating in the rain (L 143a), but never emphasized.
- 16 Luke: Luce ewangeliste. quomodo scribit omnia ewangelia. Augustine: Augustini. quomodo scribebat ewangelia. Jerome: Jeronimi. quomodo scribebat ewangelia.
- 17 The story of Ambrose is somewhat richer with miracles and conspiracy. Matthew and John rather fit to the group of the apostles.
- 18 Let us compare it to a contemporaneous French *Legenda aurea* manuscript, in which each legend is decorated with one single miniature (Vat. reg. lat. 534). The motif of writing (*écriture*) is applied for John the Evangelist (f. 19r), Gregory the Great (f. 56r), Augustine (f. 158r), Jerome (f. 187r) and Luke (f. 197v). Thus it is also typical for evangelists and Church Fathers.
- 19 A similar image is known from the legend of Hilary in which the saint is arguing in the circle of bishops holding a book (L 165b). The *Golden Legend* and the inscription emphasize the debate, although it is not visible in the picture rather resembling to teaching scenes. On the other hand, the audience (as far as it is visible) is kneeling and this does not fit into the usual teacher-student relation.
- 20 This is the opening of six cycles because the common cycle of Simon and Judas dedicates the first two images to this motif.
- 21 For more on the positioning of hands, see Garnier 1982, 165–170; Garnier 1989, especially 108 ff.
- 22 In the case of Paul (L 32c) and Simon (L 69b) it is left out because the pulpit was represented in another picture of the same page. The preaching of Francis to the birds requires neither (NYa).
- 23 Tranquillinus crosses his arms; however, this is equivalent with clasping, as we have seen it in the case of consecration of bishops.
- 24 There are kneeling figures in 153 pictures. We will return to them in the discussion on healing and resuscitating.
- 25 The inscription (known after the seventeenth century transcripion) also uses “Benedictio”.
- 26 “Quomodo cum benedictione liberabat omnes a variis infirmitatibus”.
- 27 Cf. Camille 1989.
- 28 The idol represented in the Nekksei Bible (Book of Amos, vol. II, fol. 179v) is similar, though the column is wider and a kind of strange entasis can also be detected.
- 29 Similar representations are painted in the frescos of Pompei, although discovered much later; however, other Antique monuments were probably known earlier.
- 30 LCI vol. 2, 43–50.
- 31 Cf. Marosi 1995, 117–118 (the analysis of the strange features at the bottom of the St George statue of the Brothers of Kolozsvár in Prague). Cf. Marosi 1999, 393–394.
- 32 These two gestures seem to be equivalent, see their presentation at the consecration of bishops.
- 33 Similar objects are represented in the scenes of bathing a child: in one of them it is explicitly like a baptismal font (L 151d), in the other it is between the font and the larger bowl (L 124). The former scene and the baptism of Dominic cannot be separated. A similar case is the preparation of the corpse of Mary for burial (L 18c).
- 34 Baptism and confirmation went together in the early centuries. Later in the West the baptism of the children and the confirmation reserved for the bishop were separated (Radó 1961, 722–724). In the images of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* usually adults are baptized, which should be accompanied by the confirmation, which was never represented. In the legend of Dominic it is also left out since no miracle happened at that time, in contrast to his baptism.
- 35 In other cases of forgiving the sin only an altar is represented and the saint

- is serving it without a mass (L 57a, 169b). The relics of Emeric themselves make a similar miracle (L 132d).
- 36 Altar is represented out of mass in the following contexts: consecration (10 cases, bishops: L 71b, 105c, 107a, 111c, 154a, 162a, c, 164b; nun: 142b; king: 133b), church dedication (56b), baptism (105d), Matins (121c), blessing (67a), burials (78d, 108b), signing the place of prayer and conversion (51a, 131b, c, 134b, d-135a), places of evil (134d-135a) and celestial appearances (20c, 60a, 120d, 57a, 169b).
- 37 Elevation of the Host became part of the liturgy of the mass in late twelfth-century France, taken over after 1215 by the Cistercians. It was generally accepted by the end of the thirteenth century in the West. On the contrary, the elevation of the chalice is a later development. (*Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de la liturgie*, vol. IV. Ed. Fernand Cabré-Henri Leclercq, Paris: Letouzey et Ané, 1921, 2663.). Thus a relatively new motif became the symbol of the mass in the legendary.
- 38 Interestingly in none of the representations of the mass can we see an altar cross, although it is represented in the legend of Ladislav who was praying in the church by night and fighting with it against the devil (L 143b, d, 135a). Possibly this is the object taken to Louis of Toulouse (L 151b).
- 39 Radó 1961, 943-5. This sacrament, nowadays administered in the earlier order, the new Catholic terminology calls „anointing of the sick”; speaking about the 14th century the usage would be anachronistic.
- 40 The small box held by the priest in one of the images (L 169a) can be identified with a pyxis of the host or the box for unction. It is similar to the object held by bishop Maximinus at the last unction of Mary Magdalene (L 168c), though it is decorated with a cross and has a longer feet.
- 41 Flags are represented in the cycle of Jesus (L 14b- c, 15a-b-c-d), Emeric (L 132a), Ladislav (L 133a) and Alexis (158d).
- 42 Processional flags are usually represented in burial scenes (L 131d, 137d, 138a, 158d, 168d), once during the death (L 138b), and once during the consecration of a nun (L 142d). Four among the seven cases are related to Hungarian saint
- 43 Levárdy interpreted it as the great donations to the church (Levárdy 1973, notes to Fig. 133), Marosi quoted texts related to the coronation (Marosi 1995 201). See the details in Part III, analysis of the legend of Ladislav.
- 44 Clement: L 101b, Gerhard: L 111b, Gregory: L 116c.
- 45 Evidently, even the hermits of Egypt did not live in the desert but in the wilderness, uninhabited by people (*erémos*). Thus they can be rightly represented in a forest.
- 46 In the last picture St Stephen is also present observing his son, however, this does not make a difference regarding the image type.
- 47 L 73a. Although only on one knee, which does not seem to be significant.
- 48 The same composition is applied for a scene from the legend of James the Greater, returning to his Hispanian disciples, who are kneeling similarly to Mary Magdalene (L 47c). This is not the only image comparing James to Jesus.
- 49 See more details in Part V, Chapter 2.
- 50 L 80c: “VII. quomodo omnes adorabant eum populi.”
- 51 L 132b. Another penitent is kneeling at the feet of a bishop but without any success therefore James forgives him his sins; he turns to him in the same manner (L 56d, 57a). Other sinners are kneeling before Mary Magdalene in the same way (L 169b, d).
- 52 E.g. someone escaping from the prison is turning to James in this way (L 56c). The examples can be multiplied.
- 53 E.g. generally in the consecration of the bishop and sometimes in baptism (L 79d).
- 54 E.g. James the Less (L 72c) Stephen the Protomartyr (L 78c). Often applied in beheading scenes. Francis received kneeling the beating of his father (Pd).
- 55 In the next chapter we will return to these cases, here some examples: Peter praying for the resurrection of a deceased (L 27d), John for the destruction of the pagan temple (L 42c), or Ladislav for the feeding of his army (L 133d).
- 56 L 91. Another example is Peter of Verona who asks for a cloud in the same way as he receives martyrdom (L 102 a and d).
- 57 Francis on his first page is praying and tolerating sufferings (Pb, d), on the second he is kneeling before the bishop (L 148b), on the third he is scourging himself and receives the stigmata (149a, c), while in the next image a youth is kneeling before him (or Francis is appearing to him, L 149d). And the washing of the feet is not even counted (L 148d)!
- 58 Pa and Bc. This image type belongs to the meeting scenes.
- 59 The representation is in contradiction to the text: an ox was to be sacrificed to Paul but no crowns are mentioned in the Holy Scriptures (Acts 10,14).
- 60 The two compositons are mirrors of each other, however it has significance. In the legend, Paul is only rejecting the offer being rather passive, while Matthew explains something to the people bringing the crowns in an active way.
- 61 L 117a, L 144c, L 157b.
- 62 L 110d. The legend writes of Demetrius’ ring: “a quo per eundem Lupum pro Christi clementia beatique martyris invocationes miracula quamplura facta sunt.” *Legenda sancti Demetrii*, in: *Legende sanctorum regni Hungariae in Lombardica Historia non contente*, Strassburg, 1486 f., f. 26v. According to the *titulus*: “VIII. quomodo per anulum suum et palium quod tangebant homines curabantur.”
- 63 L 155a. In keeping with this, the *titulus* also makes no mention: “quomodo dedit tunicam pauperi.”
- 64 Cf. the miniature from the stylistically related Neksei Bible, vol. I, fol. 185r.
- 65 Cf. Eustace: L 160b, Ladislav: L 137a, Emeric: L 131b, Louis of Toulouse: Bc. The visual source for this is the betrayal of Judas: L 8d.
- 66 L 40. According to the text, it was the girl who disappeared and not the devil from the girl; however, it would have been very difficult to depict. In other temptation scenes the devil is not identified in similar way, however, its role is clear and usually interpreted in this way by the inscriptions.
- 67 Cf. Boureau 1984 158.
- 68 The nativity of Mary is missing from the present material of the codex and we cannot be sure that it was part ever. Here we can refer to the general iconographic tradition.
- 69 L 151d: “quomodo eadem domina peperit duas filias.”
- 70 See the exorcism scenes in the legends of Paul (L 31d), Bartholomew (L 73b), Donatus (L 105d), Giles (L 155b). Only Donatus steps to the sick from the right side.
- 71 The following images will be analyzed: L 24c, 26a, 31a, 51d, 84a, 84b, 88b, 102b, 102c, 120a, 120b, 120d, 149d, 155a.
- 72 L 149a: According to the text, the wounded man was lying in the middle of a big crowd. Francis, appearing to him and healing him with the stigmata, pulled out and threw away the sword. In the picture the sick is kneeling at the feet of the saint who is blessing his putting the hands on the head. Instead of the crowd only another Franciscan is present.
- 73 There are such examples: L 41d, 42a, 107b, 122b, 139d, NYC, L 156c.
- 74 E.g. L 26b, 38b, partially L 42a.
- 75 E.g. Peter is kneeling at the tomb and praying, the soul of the boy returns from God in the upper right corner (L 27d). Peter is kneeling, the dead boy stands up, the presence of God is symbolized by the cloud in the

- upper right corner (L 28c). *Manus Dei* is visible in the upper right corner in a resurrection scene of Andrew (L 38b).
- 76 L 27d; L 66a: it is unclear whether the child is dying (the parents are mourning) and the soul is leaving or Matthew is just resurrecting him and the soul is returning.
- 77 L 26d, L 43b.
- 78 L 56c, 169a, NYd
- 79 E.g. they announce the death of Mary (L 17a) or the birth of John the Baptist (L 20c).
- 80 To Giles (L 156d) and Dominic (L 145b).
- 81 L 27c: Christ, 77a: Christ, 86d: Christ and angels (according to the text only angels), 109b: angels, 110b: Christ.
- 82 Mary (to the unlearned cleric): L 114b; (Alexis is led to the church): L 158a; Mary Magdalene: L 169b and d. Stephen the King called attention to the relics of Emeric: L 132c.
- 83 James: L 57a, Mary Magdalene: L 169b
- 84 Mary healing the wounds of Ladislav: L 136c
- 85 This is especially common with the monks: Peter Martyr: L 102b, c; Francis: L 149d; Giles: L 156c.
- 86 According to the *Golden Legend* Donatus was forced to sacrifice to Jupiter but rejecting it he was beheaded. In the cycle of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* he is forced to something before his beheading but it is not known what. The inscription simplifies it as being Donatus led to the execution: “quomodo ducebatur ad decollandum”.
- 87 L 42b. Bidding is not mentioned in the *Golden Legend* but emphasized by the inscription: “quomodo erat ligatus et percussus”.
- 88 L 51c: “quomodo diffinitus est iam ad decollandum et est captus et ligatus et iam ducitur.” Although this condensed description was written for a trial scene.
- 89 L 37b: Andrew; L 54c: disciples of James the Greater; L 67c: Philip; L 103c: Sixtus.
- 90 The triple portrait of Christopher and the two prostitutes may belong to this, however, it documents the moment when the girls are already converted and being true associates of the saint (L 97d).
- 91 L 79d: Lawrence baptizes and heals a blind man; L 109c: Demetrius blesses Nestor before the fight.
- 92 L 27c: although Paul is painted in the prison together a beardless apostle instead of Peter.
- 93 L 77a, 86d, 110b. Cf. the previous chapter.
- 94 L 109b. Represented in a common image with the defeat of the scorpion; the gesture of the saint refers to this. Cf. the previous chapter.
- 95 James: L 54d; Andrew: L 36d. According to the text of the *Golden Legend*, Andrew led out Matthew from the prison. In the image the figures of Andrew and Matthew are changed and an angel was added following the usual image type.
- 96 L 27b: Peter.
- 97 L 32b: escape of Paul; cf. L 60c-d: James the Greater liberates a prisoner.
- 98 The closest is the scene from the life of Andrew which depicts the angel leading out the prisoner (L 36d). In other cases, the composition is determined by the angel flying. Cf. preceding chapter.
- 99 Christ: L 9a-b, 10b, 11a; trial of James the Greater: L 51c. Here the high priest gives the order, James is standing passive therefore the composition is mirrored.
- 100 Pl. L 80b: Lawrence; L 99a: Cosma and Damian; L 103a: Sixtus.
- 101 L 79a: Lawrence debates with the emperor, L 75b: Bartholomew with the king of India; L 54b: the disciples with the king of Hispania.
- 102 L 28b, c: Peter and Paul; L 42d: John; L 69d: Simon and Judas.
- 103 These two tortures are mixed in the images. In the case of George a torch is in the image and the text (L 90c). In the case of Vincent a torch is represented but iron rake is mentioned in the *Golden Legend* (L 86b). In the case of Blaise both text and image prefer the iron rake (L 88d) which is repeated in the next image for the women faithful to the bishop (L 89a).
- 104 L 25b, 25d, 31c, 32a, 33b-c, 36c, 77b, 98c, 141c; similar: 110c.
- 105 L 29b, L 40b. For the cross of Andrew see the analysis of his legend in Part III.
- 106 L 98c, 101c, 87c.
- 107 L 67a, 107c, 114c.
- 108 L 22c, 35a, 52d, 83c, 89c, 89d, 91a, 94a, 98a, 100b, 104a, 106d, 110a.
- 109 In the martyrdom of Christopher the executioner is not represented, only soldiers without weapons.
- 110 L 77c, 37c, 70c.
- 111 The images of violent death, i.e. the martyrdom, are already analyzed and their image type significantly differs.
- 112 Therefore it is fully understandable why the inscription called the burial of Mary Magdalene as the last one (“Vltima quomodo fuit sepulta”), although it is continued in the next folio. See also Part V, Chapter I.
- 113 The origin of this image type goes back to the baptism and bathing scenes, see esp. L 39a: Andrew baptizing the wife of Proconsul Aegeas.
- 114 Death (last communion, bidding farewell) and burial are both represented in the cycles of Ladislav, Bernard and Mary Magdalene. In the case of Alexis the discovery of the corpse is accompanied by the burial procession.
- 115 In the cycle of Demetrius the martyrdom is not followed by burial but a scene in which the relics of the saint create miracles (L 110d).
- 116 This is identified correctly by the inscription; however, Levárdy misinterpreted it, similarly to the image of Dominic (which did not preserve its inscription). Seemingly this image type is not easily accessible for the present-day viewer.
- 117 His sainthood is not symbolized by a halo.
- 118 Analyzed images: L 59b, 66a, 83a, 137b, NYb, L 158c, resp. 87a: this is the death of Vincent which is still martyrdom though he died in bed, and thus the image belongs to this group.
- 119 In this last image (L 137b) only the hair of the man lying to the corpse is visible, however, originally his face was also painted before the arm of the king covered it.
- 120 L 59c: one of the children; women: L 66a, 158c. In this last image the mother is clasping her hand. The gesture is often represented in Christological cycles (here L 13b and d), Mary Magdalene lifting and opening her arms. It is unclear whether an associate of Francis lifts his hand as a sign of emotion (NYb).
- 121 L 59c: the husband, L 66a: the father, L 137b: a man with grey hair.
- 122 L 158d. E.g. the corpse of Vincent left for the animals: L 87b.
- 123 The following images were analyzed: 18d, 23b, 29d, 40c, 53a, 67b, 70d, 72d, 75d, 77d, 78b, 78d, 83d, 85d, 87d, 98b, 100d, 104b, 108b, 112d, 114d, 116b, 119b, 119d, 121d, 131d, 138a, 143d, 161d, 165d, 168d
- 124 L 85d, 87d, 165d. There are candles in the background: L 138a.
- 125 L 116b. There are five cardinals represented in the legendary, four times indicating the rank of the pope (L 83a-b, 116b, 121b), the fifth is Jerome (L 121a).
- 126 Unquestionably an altar is depicted in these cases: Stephen the Protomartyr, L 78d; Stanislaw, L 108b.
- 127 L 53b-c. This last motif cannot be represented, though the painter depicted a stone sarcophagus in the boat instead of the corpse of the saint.
- 128 L 55d: The coach with the relics of James are pulled by wild bulls; L 112c:

NOTES

- in the legend of Gerhard the animals pull the coach easily and cross river Maros miraculously; L 137c: the coach with the corpse of Ladislav moves to Várad by itself.
- 129 If the *titulus* is not mistaken: “quomodo uenerunt populi orare ad sepulchrum.”
- 130 L 138b: “quomodo populus adorabat circa sepulchrum.”
- 131 Stanislaw: L 108d; Emeric: L 132b-c-d; Ladislav: L 138c-d; Brice/Martin: L 154d; Mary Magdalene: L 169d.
- 132 L 110d: “quomodo per anulum suum et palium quod tangebant homines curabantur.”

Conclusions

V.I. THE PROCESS IN WHICH THE CODEx WAS CREATED

Thus far we have analyzed the visual system of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* on three levels: we have examined the methods for choosing and organizing the legends, we have surveyed the individual series with special attention to their relationship to written and visual sources, and we have attempted to explain how the various image types were constructed from visual elements. Only now can we discuss the conclusions that can be drawn concerning the process in which the codex was made.

There are three methods we could use. Since no records, contracts or other sources have survived relating to the commission or execution of the codex, our options (and the validity of any of our statements) are limited. We could try to logically break up the working process into steps, and thereby arrive at an ideal procedure for preparing the codex. We could also use analogies, since research on codices has made some significant breakthroughs in this area, most recently by J. J. G. Alexander and his school. Finally we can gain some important information from the codex itself, whose Vatican pages still contain numerous clues that have not been sufficiently explored by researchers. These methods cannot be sharply separated from each other, and we can only hope to achieve results by using a combination of them.

Our starting point is the moment the idea for the codex was conceived; that is, when the patron, probably under the influence of his advisors, decided to order such a richly illustrated legendary. His inspiration possibly came from another similar codex. The next step in the process was to select the legends, and clearly the source material presented in the *Golden Legend* with its Hungarian supplement aided in this process. Once the saints were chosen according to unique requirements of the patron, they were then placed in a hierarchical order and proportioned relative to each other. At this point decisions may have been made as to how many pictures should be assigned to each saint, and perhaps also how the legends should be arranged in the signatures. Earlier we discussed how the structure of the codex stands out in terms of its organization and execution. Careful thought must have been given to the presentation of the circle of saints in a uniform and balanced manner while still giving key figures due prominence. At this level it was the patron who would have made the decisions, but obviously he would have relied on one or more advisors who were knowledgeable about books, legends, and the liturgy.

The next step was designing the legends themselves. During this process, the chosen stories from the narratives would have been broken up into scenes, and these would have been adapted based on the number of pictures allotted to the saint. The decision of what images

should appear on the pages of the codex belonged to the designer of the program, although the miniaturist had a say about the exact distribution of elements in the pictures. Because so many hands were involved in the painting of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, the head of the workshop would have also been involved. Next would be the practical execution: the development of the images based on iconographic tradition and available visual models.

We know little about how the visual scheme of the book was transmitted from the patron to the masters. We have a great number of contracts for panel paintings and frescoes that occasionally dealt with the program, but contracts governing the commissioning of codices are extremely rare – in part because many documents were destroyed, but also probably because very few ever existed. During his extensive research, Alexander learned of twenty such contracts from the middle of the fourteenth century to the sixteenth century.¹ Documents settling payments for already finished manuscripts are much more common. We can suppose that the majority of agreements were verbal, since in the Middle Ages these were recognized as having the same validity as written ones.² Thus it appears likely that no written commission for the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* ever existed, since no contracts for any other codices from this period are known.

What was of primary importance to patrons was not artistic quality or even content, but rather two far more mundane aspects: the use of good quality materials and adherence to a strict deadline.³ These were crucial points later in commissions for Renaissance panel paintings.⁴ Not one of the contracts we know of so far deals with questions of content. This leads us to wonder how the desired visual program was conveyed to the miniaturist. There were probably several ways, but we should keep in mind that manuscript illumination was strongly governed by convention.⁵

In a significant portion of cases the commissioner and miniaturists would have relied on custom, since certain book types such as the Bible or the various ritual books had a customary decorative scheme. Occasionally the master was left to decide the ornamentation, especially in the case of simpler texts, where decoration consisted of a few portraits of the authors. Sometimes the miniaturist read (or understood) the first few words of the text and used this to create the illustration. In the case of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, however, we can exclude both these possibilities, since the codex is an extraordinarily rare and complicated type that would have required a greater degree of learning to compile.

Thus two other possible methods remain for us to choose from. The expressions “secondo modo e forma” and “secundum similitudinem et formam,” which appear in Italian contracts, suggest that the painters most frequently used prototypes in their work.⁶ Eberlein was thus justified in pointing out that the work of the scribe and the illuminator was closely tied together, not only in terms of workshop organization, terminology, and tools, but also working methods. Both were most frequently occupied with copying written or painted works, and their degree of invention or clumsiness determined whether they revitalized or misunderstood their prototypes.⁷ The pertinent question is whether we can assume such a model for the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. To a certain degree research has leaned in this direction.⁸ But then we have to ask to what degree the pattern book covered the material in the codex. When the codex was commissioned, it is very doubtful that orders were given to copy a similar volume, since nothing of the kind probably existed (knowing the rarity of this codex type).⁹ If there were such prototypes for the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, they were individual legends at the most. Meanwhile, the image cycles with Hungarian connections probably contain visual solutions worked out for just that specific occasion and do not derive from an established iconographic tradition.

Instead these cycles represent new creations based on the textual sources and successful image types.

Thus, in the case of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* we are most likely dealing with a written program. We would expect this anyway given the large scale of the undertaking. This program may have originated with the patron, his advisors, an intermediary or the miniaturist himself, who would have had it approved by the patron.¹⁰ In the present case, given the significance of the project, the designers of the program probably came from among high-ranking intellectuals, most likely prelates in the Hungarian Angevin court.¹¹

Two examples from the period of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* might shed some light on how the visual scheme was communicated. The *Belleville Breviary* (c. 1325) contains written instructions at the beginning for the miniaturist, Jean Pucelle.¹² On the first folio of another contemporary codex, the *Holkham Bible*, two figures are depicted: the miniaturist and the Dominican advisor who instructs him.¹³ We cannot know whether there was anything like this at the start of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, but it seems less likely – the beginning of the codex was reserved generally for other more representative purposes. The other, more frequent method was to write shorter or longer instructions in the margins or in the space reserved for the miniature informing the illuminator about the theme to be depicted. Upon completion, these remarks would be cut off or painted over. If we thoroughly examine the Vatican codex, we can find certain traces of these preparatory measures.¹⁴ These clues reveal the process in which the codex as an object was made.

After the program was determined, the requirements of the codex were assessed and the form of the volume was planned. The first step was to acquire the parchment. If the codex was made in Bologna then they would have relied on the well-developed parchment trade. Alexander has published a picture of a shop belonging to a

Bolognese parchment-maker and merchant.¹⁵ The price of the parchment often constituted a significant portion of the costs. The four-volume *Calci Bible* made in 1168 cost 321 solidus, and of this 81 solidus was spent on parchment.¹⁶ Made between 1383–87, the Missal of Abbot Litlington of Westminster cost £39 10s 10d, of which £5 6s 8d went to the parchment.¹⁷ At present, however, we do not have a sufficient understanding of price relationships to draw general conclusions about the proportions spent on parchment.¹⁸

The size of the Vatican codex is 28 cm x 21.4 cm. However, this is after trimming; the original pages were at least a couple of centimeters larger.¹⁹ Thus, the codex better resembled large-sized manuscripts, which had twice folded vellum sheets. One sheet of vellum therefore produced four folios, or rather two bifoliums.²⁰ In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, as was most common in the Middle Ages, four bifoliums form one quire, or quaternion. Beginning in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, a note called *reclaman*s or *custos* was written at the bottom of the last verso in the quire, which was generally a repetition of the first word of the next gathering. This would ensure the correct ordering of the quires. In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* the gatherings were counted, and the Roman numerals written in the upper right corner of the last verso in the quire (see Table 13). Today we can observe these marks in quires XII, XIII, XIII^{II} (see fol. 63v, Fig. 97) and XVI.²¹ Within the quires the order of the bifoliums is indicated on the recto of the first folio of each bifolium with Roman

Fig. 97. Original numbering of the quire XIII^{II}, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 63v



Conclusions

Vat.	Levárdy	scenes	position	titulus	binding
23r	43	John 9-12		bottom: unreadable	
24r	—	—			bottom right corner: b
24v	44	John 13-16		top: well readable bottom: unreadable	
25r	49	James 9-12		top: unreadable bottom: unreadable	
26v	50	James 13-16		bottom: unreadable	
28v	52	James 21-24		upper margin: letter fragments bottom: partly readable	
30v	54	James 29-32		bottom: unreadable	
31r	55	James 33-36		bottom: unreadable	
33r	57	James 41-44		upper margin: letter fragments bottom: unreadable	
37r	61	James 57-60		bottom: partly readable	
38v	64	James 69-72		top: partly readable bottom: well readable	
42v	70	Simon-J. 5-8			upper right corner: X [?]
43r	77	Mark 5-8			bottom: III
44r	—	—			bottom: IIII
44v	78	Stephen 1	bottom: • prima •		
44v	78	Stephen 2	bottom: • ultima •		
54v	90	George 1-4			upper right corner: XI[I]
56av	98	Christopher 9-10			upper right corner: XIII
59v	102	Peter m. 1	upper left corner: • prima •	top: chalore	
62r	105	Donatus 3		upper margin: letter fragments	
63v	106	Donatus 7-10			upper right corner: XIII
67r	—	—			bottom right corner: d°
74v	118	Ambrose 1	upper left corner: [p]rima • ambro		
77v	122	Martin 1	upper left corner: [p]rima • mar		upper right corner: XVI
98r	161	Paul the H. 1	upper margin: letter fragments?		
99v	162	Remy 1	upper left corner: fragments of p and m ?		
101v	164	Hilary 1	upper margin: letter fragments?		

Table 13. Marginal signs in the codex of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*



Fig. 98. Original numbering of a bifolium as IIII, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 44r

numerals (e.g. on fol. 44r, Fig. 98) or with the letters a-b-c-d (see e.g. fol. 67r, Fig. 99) (*signatura*).²²

After the parchment was prepared for writing or painting, lines were made to indicate the pre-determined distribution of the four images on the page. Only the finer flesh side of the folios was used, while the hair side was left empty. The bifoliums were placed next to each other so that the same type of side faced each other: thus two painted flesh sides were followed by two unpainted hair sides. The first recto and last verso of each quire were painted. Only one quire contains a mistake in this system: the present-day companion folios 79 and 84. Here first the hair side was marked, but the mistake was noticed and corrected. Unfortunately work only reached the ruling of the sheet, but even this gives us a little glimpse into the workshop practices. It is at present impossible to determine whether helping lines etched with a stylus preceded the visible lines. On the mistakenly ruled folio we can see that first the corners were marked and also the points at which the edges of the frame intersect. After, with the aid of a straight edge, vertical and parallel lines were drawn, running beyond the painted frames; this is visible on the other folios too. At this stage no lines were drawn for the inscriptions. Helping lines for the *titulus* must have been drawn later, but these are also only visible in the first folios.²³

Since the bifoliums were worked on separately (which explains why marks were needed at the bottoms of the leaves), the distribution of the images required careful planning. It was necessary to know exactly which legends



Fig. 99. Original numbering of a bifolium as d, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 67r

began or ended on which pages and with which pictures. The system was further complicated because the legend could begin on either the upper or lower left. Remarks in the margins served to indicate this, but very little of these have remained, and we do not know whether they were supplemented with more lengthy instructions. Underneath the first and second images in the legend of Stephen the protomartyr the words *prima* and *ultima* can be found (fol. 44v). The first image of Peter Martyr is also marked *prima* (fol. 59v), and twice a reference to the saint was also included: the first image in the legend of Ambrose is marked *[p]rima ambro* (see Fig. 100), and in the legend of Martin *[p]rima mar*. Certainly others were marked in this way, but these were lost when the pages were trimmed (perhaps several times). Traces of this are preserved by letter stems discernible above the first images in Paul the Hermit, Remy and Hilary.

Fig. 100. Marking the beginning of the legend of Saint Ambrose as *[p]rima ambro*, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 74v



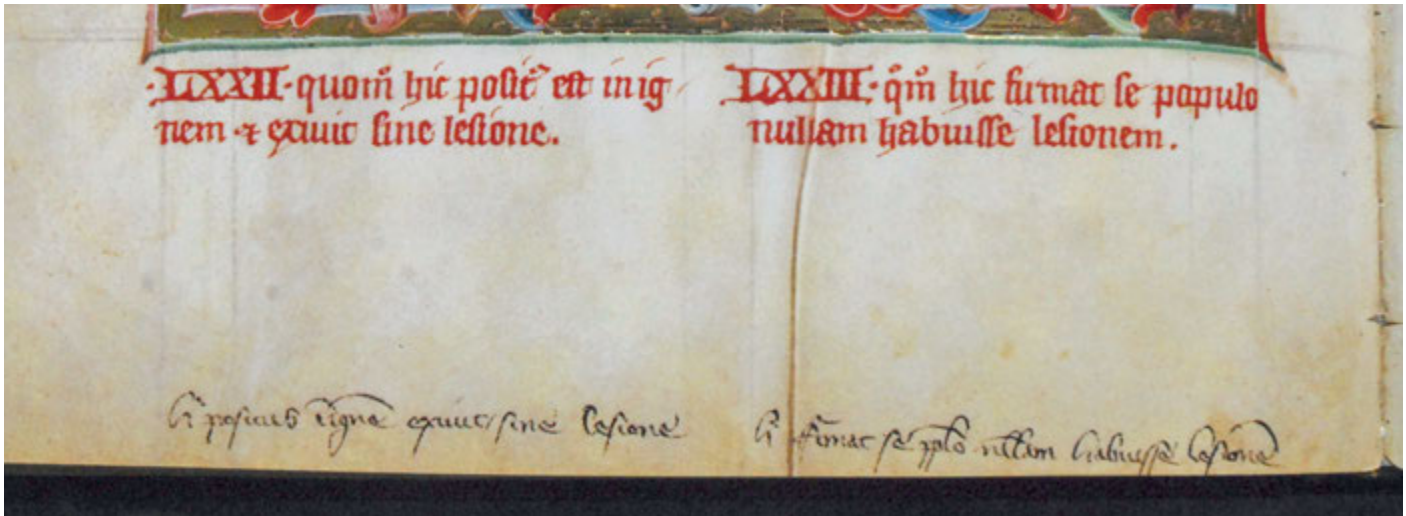


Fig. 101. The *titulus* written in cursive at the bottom of Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 38v

While studying French and English illuminated Gothic codices, Patricia Stirnemann distinguished between three types of brief marginalia: one pertains to the assembly of the quires and bifoliums, the second indicates the color of the miniature (using the first letter of the color), and the third numbers the ornamentation (*iniciales*) in each signature or bifolium.²⁴ Of these only the last is a Gothic innovation,²⁵ while the others were known practices that became more common in the twelfth century. In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* we have already discussed examples of the first. There is no trace, however, of the second type, and if such notes had been made they would have been painted over.²⁶ The last, if it was indeed intended to serve the work process,²⁷ is comparable to the inscriptions *prima* and *ultima*, which noted the transitions to a new cycle – but the question is whether this was sufficient information for the miniaturist.

Of the instructions in the margins, the most exciting are those which provided information to the miniaturist about the scene to be painted. These are relatively rare, as they were later trimmed off or erased. Sometimes the notes were made for a surface that was later covered with decoration – this happens in the earliest relevant

example, the *Quedlinburg Itala*.²⁸ Stones knows of such inscriptions mainly from workshops which contained a large number of scribes and illuminators and produced medium-quality work, such as a Parisian workshop dating to the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The inscriptions are generally in the vernacular, and only rarely in Latin.²⁹ Similar inscriptions are known from fourteenth century Bologna, both from secular and clerical books.³⁰ In several cases the question arises whether the notes were made for the miniaturist or the rubricator or both. Stones, who examined the c. 1300 manuscript *Lancelot*, did not find examples of rubrics, images, and marginalia appearing together.³¹

In this respect the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is therefore an especially important manuscript, since there are many examples of this. Another type of text longer than those described above is discernible in the images and in the red *titulus* inscriptions; these appeared in the margin either above or below the image. At present the scenes of John the Evangelist and James the Greater have the greatest quantity of this type of text (see e.g. Fig. 101), but traces can be found alongside other images too. In time the majority of these were lost as the pages

were trimmed. The inscriptions appear to be contemporary with the codex,³² but were not in *textualis*, but rather cursive writing (*littera notularis*). The text matched with that of the *tituli*.³³ The handwriting is certainly not the same as that of the inscriptions used to indicate the start of the legends (*prima*).³⁴ In fact there are three possibilities: these notes were made before the images were painted, or between the preparation of the images and the *tituli*, or after both were finished. The last is the least likely since the text of the *tituli* is more legible than the cursive script; thus there would have been little sense in rewriting these. We can decide which of the first two possibilities is more probable if we establish which one is closer to the source material: the image or the marginal text? If it is the

text then we have the program prepared for the illuminator. If it is the image, then we have a contemporary interpretation of the image, which is also extraordinarily exciting. Only a detailed analysis of the text of the *tituli* can provide an answer, and thus in the next two sections we shall take on this task.

The image could have been painted as was customary: first a preliminary sketch was made, and then the gilding was done followed by the basic colors and finally the modeling. There are numerous traces of preliminary drawings throughout the codex, especially in the lighter toned surfaces. The last two pictures in the cycle of St Francis serve as good examples (Fig. 102). In the fifteenth scene, we can discern lines underneath the cream-colored

Fig. 102. Preparatory drawing visible under white surfaces in the legend of Saint Francis, Metropolitan Museum 1994.516



clothes of the woman sitting in bed. These do not belong to the final composition. It appears that the preliminary drawing placed the elbows of the right arm higher up, and perhaps the entire figure was positioned slightly above the final version. In the next scene, once again we find lines in the lower portion of the beige clothing of the man freed from prison. These suggest his dress originally ended higher up. Other lines tell us his arms were not originally placed in exactly the same position. The pink ground certainly penetrates the bottom of the robe, just as the black background does in the left side of the image. Thus it appears that the composition went through certain changes, and originally the prison building more strongly overpowered the figure of the freed man.

Generally smaller modifications can be discerned everywhere that we find traces of preliminary sketches. These changes were not crucial, but rather the natural results of final determinations in the composition. Apparently the preliminary drawings were improvised sketches, and not carefully prepared studies for the final version. We can even imagine that these lines belonged to a preparatory stage of the work that preceded final approval. In this phase the codex most resembled those models that have occasionally survived.³⁵

The last step in the preparation of the codex was the writing of the *tituli* and binding based on the markings on the bifoliums. There are no signs of any mistakes in the latter, but the *tituli* on the other hand are considerably flawed (the text is even incomplete at one point³⁶) and perhaps belonged to a subsequent work stage. The majority of the work was carried out in a large and well organized workshop where several processes had to be harmonized. This is suggested not only by the clearly large number of “hands” involved (although difficult to distinguish), but also by the evidence of serious workshop practices.

In the following we shall examine the operations of this workshop and the role of the patron in a way similar to our other analyses of the codex. We shall follow the

work process in the reverse order from the final product to the inception of the project. Through an analysis of the *tituli* we can discover how much of the images fourteenth century viewers of the codex understood. An examination of how the set of visual tools were used may uncover the process in which the program was realized. Meanwhile, the lessons learned from an analysis of the individual legends shed light on the focal points and possible sources of the program. Finally, a look at the codex type can give us an idea of its use and the fundamental concept behind the entire undertaking.

V.2. ANALYSIS OF THE *TITULI*

The texts in the codex of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* are not long enough for us to consider the images as illustrations of these. For identification purposes, every image is supplied with a brief one- or two-lined inscription. Earlier research labeled these as lemmas.³⁷ In this study, at the advice of Edit Madas, we have chosen to use the expression *titulus*, which better describes these inscriptions placed outside the image and providing short information about the content.³⁸

The *tituli* were written above and below the images in red, Gothic script (*scriptura gothica textualis*). Levárdy felt this script was of a type similar to that used in Hungary, and rejected any connection to Bologna.³⁹ Tündi Wehli, however, considered it possible that the inscriptions were made in Bologna.⁴⁰ We thus cannot make any far-reaching conclusions simply based on the writing form, since it could have been used in both places.

In their present form, the inscriptions enclose the upper and lower registers, and their placement is adjusted to the structure of the images; thus they appear secondary to the miniatures.⁴¹ The texts are generally one or two lines. Sometimes if the text to an image in the lower register is long enough to require a second line but not enough to fill

it, then the second line is right-justified.⁴² With similar inscriptions in the upper register, the second line was placed above the first one, again, right-justified.⁴³ The only strange exception in this respect is on the penultimate of the pages known today, where the inscription to the upper right image (L 169b) is placed in two lines; the second line of the text is below the first line, yet still right-justified and running into the margin of the page. The text very rarely extends into three lines;⁴⁴ if the third line is shorter, this too is justified to the right.⁴⁵ The inscription to image L 114b (Fig. 28) appears to be a one-time solution, in which instead of a second line, the text turns at a right angle and continues down the right side of the image. Sometimes, if the line is too long, it simply continues beyond the borders of the image (L 141b). Based on their form, the inscriptions appear to be an afterthought. The incomplete state of one of the *tituli* also supports this.⁴⁶ At the same time, we cannot exclude the possibility that the author of the inscriptions was copying an already prepared text, which may have preceded the images. Only an analysis of the content of the inscriptions can answer this question.

Originally every image had an inscription. Unfortunately, most of the 142 pages known today are fragmentary or trimmed. Only the Vatican material is in its original form, in other words 106 pages and 424 inscriptions survive. Reproductions of these can be examined in Levárdy's facsimile edition, although the photos were retouched, and in one case a word was omitted (L 141b). The facsimile published by Belser is more reliable. Transcriptions of the *tituli* can be found in both editions, but in both cases they have mistakes. Therefore a critical transcription of the texts from the Vatican pages has been included in the appendix of this work.

The material from the Saluzzo book in the Morgan Library also contains inscriptions, which Meta Harrsen and later Ferenc Levárdy published.⁴⁷ These inscriptions are seventeenth century transcriptions of the fourteenth century *tituli*,⁴⁸ but because their accuracy cannot

be verified, we need to be cautious about any conclusions drawn from this. All together eighty-five images contain these inscriptions, which means we have altogether some kind of text for 509 of the 545 known images. Therefore we have sufficient material to allow us to make some well-founded inferences concerning the *tituli*.

Word usage in the *tituli*

Meta Harrsen and Ferenc Levárdy wrote extensively on the use of words in the inscriptions. Both concluded that the author mostly likely came from a Hungarian environment. Harrsen felt the phraseology was the same as in the *Miserable Song* (*Carmen Miserabile*) written by canon Rogerius in the middle of the thirteenth century. She considered it typical of the legendary that the word "unus" was used as an indefinite article.⁴⁹ Levárdy suggested that the linking of words in an Italian and Hungarian style pointed to either a Hungarian who spoke Italian well or an Italian who spoke Hungarian well. Levárdy thus suggested Roberto da Mileto, tutor to Prince Andrew as the patron.⁵⁰ Naturally this would only hold if the codex were indeed connected to Prince Andrew. The following section addresses this question, but first, we must examine how the inscriptions relate to the images in the codex, and what characterizes their formulation.

Every surviving *titulus* begins with a Roman number. In a few exceptional cases this is supplemented by an abbreviation, a small "o" above the number.⁵¹ Oftentimes the numbers are wrong, however: for example, instead of XL we find LX. In this same series, at the end of the legend of James the Greater, we see LXX-LXXIII, when it should read LIX-LXXII.⁵² Uncertainties are also perceptible elsewhere, and thus for example in one place a "V" was inserted later between an "X" and "III".⁵³

The text of the inscriptions is frequently organized into sentences that begin with an adverb (*quomodo*, and more rarely and mainly at the beginning of the codex:

*quando*⁵⁴). In some cases succinct, title-like inscriptions were used, mainly with the more independent iconographic types. These appear in the greatest multitude in the scenes with Jesus (for example 5d: “Hic est transfiguratio Domini”, 6d: “Hic est ramispalmarum;” or characteristically on the last page, L 16: “Ascensio Domini” — “Spiritus Domini” — “Sancta Trinitas” — “Misericordia Domini”), but this is also typical of Mary: “Assumpcio beate virginis” (L 17d) — “Ascensio ipsius beate viginis” (L 19a).⁵⁵ Titles of whole legends are rare, occurring only in the cycles of Mary and Peter (here we find only a title and no inscription for the first image, L 17a and 24c). With the rest of the cycles, the saint’s name appears in the genitive above the first image before the topic is identified. In the case of the apostles the word *(h)istoria*,⁵⁶ is added too, although this practice ends after the cycle of Luke.

In the scenes from the Gospel, any inscriptions that are not title-like are frequently quotes from the Scripture.⁵⁷ Sometimes, however, this is modified; for example the text alongside the scene with the two thieves reads “Quomodo latrones portent (!) sua patibula.” (L 11c), although the expression “patibula” for the cross does not appear anywhere in the New Testament, only in the Old Testament.⁵⁸ In the scene with Doubting Thomas, Jesus’ words are reversed; he originally calls those who believe without experiencing the merry, not Thomas.⁵⁹ The next image, dedicated to the miracle of the Miraculous Catch of Fish, is painted based on the gospel of John (Jn 21.10–12). The expression used in the inscription (“assem piscis”), however, comes from Luke (24:42) and is used when Jesus appears before the Twelve Apostles (already presented earlier in two images in the legendary, L 15b). Thus it seems that for inscriptions to scenes from the Gospel, the Scriptures were indeed relied upon, but the excerpts were not always taken from the part depicted in the image. Most likely, the author created the inscriptions based on memory and the vocabulary was acquired from an everyday practice of the liturgy.

This is much less true for the stories originating from the *Golden Legend*. Here we find no examples of the use of expressions characteristic of Jacobus de Voragine. The only, typical exception is the first scene in the cycle of St Hilary. Here the first sentence of the legend was misinterpreted by both the illuminator and the author of the inscription. The *titulus* even misquotes the line in this way: “quomodo seruiebat filia sua in habitu laycali monialibus.”⁶⁰ As for sources other than the *Golden Legend*, once again the author does not rely on the texts, but used other means to deal with the question.

We should note right away that the *tituli* were written in simple and imperfect Latin.⁶¹ If the author found a good expression, he repeated it almost ad nauseum: *quomodo fuit electus in episcopum*,⁶² *quomodo fuit sepultus*,⁶³ *quomodo scribebat ewangelia*⁶⁴ and so on. (These repetitions do suggest, however, that the seventeenth century transcriptions accompanying the Morgan Library images represent the authentic text, with only the spelling modernized and each inscription supplemented with the name of the saint – a clearly necessary step given that the images were broken up).⁶⁵ At the same time the monotonous use of tried and tested expressions was not without risk: they did not always reflect the scene depicted. For example, the election of Fabian as pope is shown in the first scene in the cycle, but the inscription referring to this accompanies the second image.⁶⁶ The inscription attributes the writing of several Gospels to Luke, and the same expression is applied to Augustine and Jerome, wrongly implying that the two saints were involved in this activity. Obviously the related image types influenced the author of the inscriptions. This question, however, requires a more thorough examination.

Misunderstandings and reinterpretations

As we have seen, the word usage in the inscriptions cannot be traced to the *Golden Legend*. In other words, in formulating the text the collection of legends was not

referred to. Now, from the perspective of content we can pose the question: were the *tituli* nevertheless based on the stories in the *Golden Legend* and were they meant to convey the topics of each image to the miniaturist? Or was it the other way around: were the texts formulated based on the images?

In some cases it is clear that the author of the inscription knows more than what is depicted in the image. In the first scene in the legend of St Benedict, the devil is snapping a rope, while the text, reflecting a knowledge of the written legend, talks of a bell being broken.⁶⁷ In the legend of Catherine the saint engages only in debate, while the *titulus* refers to the conversion of her opponent.⁶⁸ In the next image the author also knows that the wise men's clothes, which were set on fire, remained unharmed.⁶⁹ However, these are relatively famous scenes and well-known turning points, so there is no need to assume the author learned of them directly from the *Golden Legend*.

The misinterpretations are more revealing. The *Golden Legend* writes that St Hilary lived the life of a monk even as a layman with a wife and child. This is misconstrued in both the image and the inscription, with the daughter wearing secular dress but acting as a nun. As we have seen, the word usage in the *Golden Legend* and the *titulus* are so similar that the connection is indisputable. Thus the misunderstanding found in the image could have originated with the inscription. The same could be said for the legend of St Clement, who shares his life in exile with two hundred Christians in the written legend, but appears alone in the picture – just as the inscription declares: “quomodo sedebat in heremo” (L 101b).

The situation in the story of St John the Evangelist is clearer. The *Golden Legend* describes how he was led to the temple of Diana to make a sacrifice. In the image we see the pagan temple and the evangelist with the soldiers just as a boy loops a rope around his neck. The inscription refers to the binding and also a beating, but makes no mention of the temple or the sacrifice, although these

are the essential elements of the scene.⁷⁰ The image could not have drawn the idea for a temple from the inscription, but the abuse of the apostle described in the inscription, on the other hand, could have originated with the image. In other words, the details shown in the image could have been taken from the *Golden Legend*, but the inscription appears rather to be an interpretation of these depicted elements.

This is clear in a more detailed analysis of some other typical misinterpretations. When he should have surrendered the treasures of the church to the emperor, Lawrence gathered together the poor, the crippled, and the blind and presented them to the emperor as the treasures. In the image, these unfortunates sprawl at the feet of Lawrence, who argues his case with ardor. The inscription, however, interprets the scene as the adoration of Lawrence.⁷¹ During one of Ambrose's sermons a cursed Arian has a vision of the saint receiving inspiration from an angel: in the image we see the angel whispering in the bishop's ear. The inscription describes this as the angel caring for the physical well-being of Ambrose as he dangerously leans out of the pulpit.⁷² The role of the angel is similarly unclear in the story of Cosmas and Damian. An angel rescues the brothers who have been thrown to sea, but the inscription instead speaks of an angel holding the saints up before the king (L 99a, Fig. 103).⁷³ The next scene, in which Cosmas and Damian exorcise the demons attacking the king, is also the object of misinterpretation. The inscription wrongly states that the brothers exorcise the demons *in front of* the king (L 99b, Fig. 103).⁷⁴ This also could have resulted from the author's poor knowledge of Latin. But the image has clearly been misunderstood in the legend of Clement, in the scene where angels miraculously prepare a grave in the sea for the saint. According to the *titulus* the angels are dragging the body to shore.⁷⁵

In the above-mentioned case of Clement, the author used his imagination to make up for his lack of knowledge.

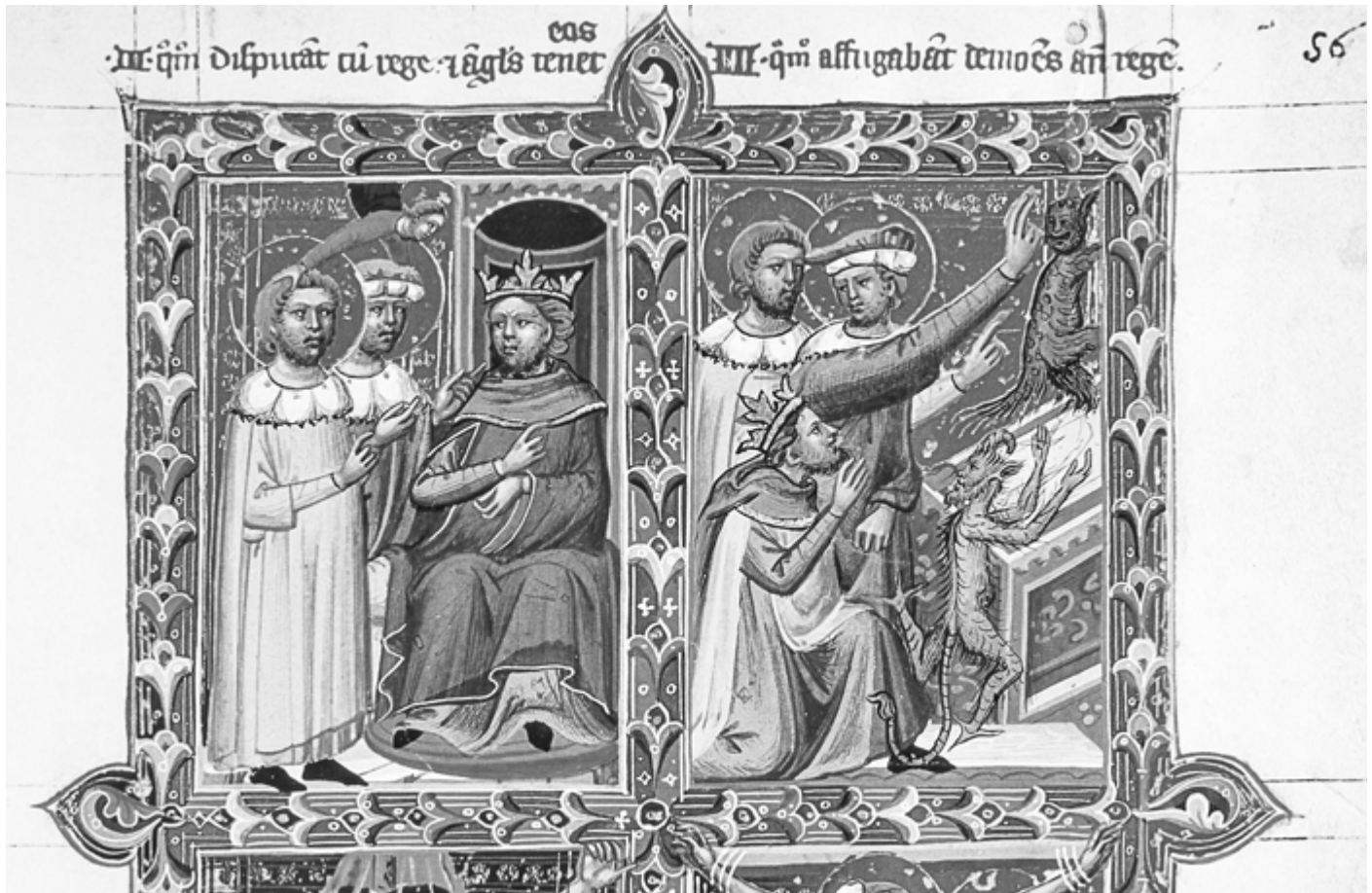


Fig. 103. Misinterpretations of the *tituli* in the legend of Saints Cosmas and Damian, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 56r (L 99a-b): "How they argued with the king and an angel held them," "How they expelled demons before the king"

But sometimes he relies on his imagination even when the image provides no justification. In one of the temptation scenes in Bernard, the naked woman lying in the saint's bed is viewed by the author of the *titulus* as Bernard's sister.⁷⁶ Other times, average everyday mortals are described as supernatural creatures. The boy rescued by Andrew from the burning house is considered an angel in the *titulus*, and the building is considered a prison,⁷⁷ while the naked girls who dance in the monastery of Benedict are demons.⁷⁸ These characters undoubtedly played roles similar to angels or devils – but their identifications as such are not supported either by the *Golden*

Legend or the images. Sometimes the inscriptions illuminate the consequences of the scene: James the Greater only debates with Hermogenes, while the *titulus* speaks of conversion – which takes place only two images later.⁷⁹

The misinterpretations described above obviously resulted from the author's exclusive reliance on the images, and the problem was exacerbated by the sometimes unique visual solutions found in the codex. When the legends were transformed into the visual idiom certain scenes from the text could not be rendered literally; instead special visual tools were needed. For example Bishop Donatus asks a question of the dead, but this

is naturally painted as a conversation between the bishop and the dead man sitting up in bed. The inscription, however, describes this as a resurrection, which is an exaggeration of this scene.⁸⁰ St Ladislav's forging of peace with Bohemia is symbolized by the two kings offering each other a kiss of peace, but the inscription interprets this literally.⁸¹ It seems the legend of Emeric also presented difficulties: in the second image the saint does not simply "osculabat monachos" but rewards the most saintly of monks with the most kisses (L 131b, Fig. 104). Similarly in the next image the crucial element is not the brightening of the church in which they are praying, but the oath of celibacy (L 131c, Fig. 61).⁸² Clearly the author did not have a good understanding of the most important scenes from the legend of Emeric, although on the second page, the author manages to label the main characters in the scene by name (Eusebius, Conradus).

The author, however, was not always so lucky with the names. The bishop in the legend of Remy is called Genebald in the *Golden Legend*, but the inscription blends him with the figure of St Hilary.⁸³ In the legend of St John the Baptist, the author describes Salome as the daughter of Herod, when she is actually the daughter of the first husband of Herodias, called Philip by the Gospels.⁸⁴ Although it is not clear who "Banka" is, the *titulus* mistakenly identifies Thomas Becket by this name in one of the miracle scenes. No character with this name appears in the *Golden Legend* or in the images.⁸⁵ If the inscriptions to the images in the Morgan Library contain the authentic text, then Caiphas, who appears in one of the interrogation scenes, is misidentified as Pilate.⁸⁶ However, it is true that the stages in the passion of Jesus are not always clear, and thus similarly difficult-to-decipher images are accompanied by seemingly incorrect texts. In the legend of James the Greater the male character in the interrogation scenes is called Lupa, although the *Golden Legend* refers only to Queen Lupa. The identity of the man erroneously referred to as Lupa remains a mystery.⁸⁷ In contrast, a little bit later



Fig. 104. Simplification of the *titulus* in the legend of Saint Emeric, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 78r (L 131b)

both the text of the legend and the image show Queen Lupa prostrating herself before the grave of the apostle – the inscription, however, makes no reference to this, speaking only of the general veneration for the gravesite.⁸⁸

Also problematic is an image from the legend of St Ladislav that shows the king's soldiers setting a city on fire. According to the *titulus* these are the homes of Pechenegs.⁸⁹ However, the only situation with a similar outcome known in the textual tradition is the siege of Nándorfehérvár (today Belgrade, Serbia), and the king is Solomon and not Ladislav. The inscription thus only adds to the confusion. There is an uncertainty in the cycle of Gerhard too. We do

not know whether one of the episodes in the *translatio* of the saint's relics was indeed meant to represent the miracle of the steer pulling a wagon (for which there is no textual source), or whether the author of the inscription mistook it for this similar miracle based on corresponding details in the legends of James or Ladislas.

The majority of misunderstandings are probably a result of the author assuming too much based on the image types. The frequently recurring stereotypes were supplied with inscriptions in a similarly formulaic manner: this explains why every ordination of a bishop is accompanied by the text "quomodo fuit electus in episcopum," and every burial with "quomodo fuit sepultus." This automatism becomes dangerous when similar image types have different meanings. For example those scenes in which the saint kneels before a cleric are regularly misunderstood: neither Donatus nor Christopher went to the hermit to confess. One sought shelter while the other advice on how to serve Christ.⁹⁰

The most illustrative examples are found among the healing scenes. The text of the *Golden Legend* does not identify the affliction at the beginning of the legend of Sebastian, but the *titulus* calls it *paralyticus*, since this is the most common miraculously-cured illness.⁹¹ Miracles of resurrection performed by St John the Evangelist and St Martin are reduced to simple acts of healing by the inscriptions – we have already discussed how the two scenes are not visually distinct.⁹² James the Greater is also attributed with healing a great many people, when in reality he is only bidding farewell to two disciples (L 47c, Fig. 105).⁹³ Meanwhile, the apostle Paul is certainly giving a sermon and not healing in one scene in his cycle.⁹⁴

The painter diverging from the customary image types may also have caused problems. There is a relatively rare type in which the saint is about to face death: an angel announces to him his imminent passing, the saint bids farewell to his fellow monks, and prepares for death. The death of Louis of Toulouse belongs to this type. Here



Fig. 105. Misinterpretation of the *titulus* in the legend of Saint James the Greater, Morgan Library M.360.15 (L 47 c): "How he liberated all of them from different illnesses with benediction"

the inscription presents a literal interpretation and fails to capture the essence of the scene (L 151b, Fig. 64).⁹⁵

The examples listed here naturally do not cover the entire stock of most notable deviations, but they are sufficient for us to determine the nature of the inscriptions. Everything suggests that not only the execution but also the drafting of the *tituli* took place with knowledge of the images, and thus after they were painted. Therefore we have an extraordinarily exciting case of contemporary interpretations that can certainly be attributed to a fairly educated cleric who could read a large quantity of images with sufficient confidence.⁹⁶ Only in certain instances did he run into difficulties. In interpreting the

image types he chose the simplest solution without concern for whether it was correct. Where there was doubt he generally chose the more concrete meaning, giving literal expression to what the depiction meant symbolically. Even only slightly elevated motifs such as angelic inspiration were misconstrued. The images usually represent episodes in the story and are only rarely meant to express some general meaning. The author of the inscriptions, however, manages to increase the number of these, for example by interpreting a scene from James or Lawrence as an undefined adoration of the saint. The ninth image in the legend of St Paul, on the other hand, stands out because a typical episode from the apostles – a preaching scene – is misunderstood. The author of the inscriptions calls it a miracle, in keeping with the approach of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. As we have seen, the legends of the apostles contain a large number of miracles, which were considered one of the most potent methods of bringing about conversion. The author of the *tituli* was continuing in this vein. But this does not necessarily mean that he had a deeper knowledge of either the program or the creator of the codex – instead, in a certain sense, he was only following along in the direction the stock of images in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* appear to take when departing from the textual sources.

V.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMAGE TYPES

The *tituli* are a good example of how contemporary viewers read the images in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. It becomes clear that the author used primarily the image types to guide him, and he translated these into inscriptions. The individual image types therefore had to be easily decipherable, since this was necessary for understanding the entire legendary. The degree to which the image types were comprehensible depended on the appropriate selection and organization of the available visual tools.

First of all, this process in which the image types were constructed from visual elements needs to be examined.

Construction of the image types

During the analysis of individual image types, we saw that these are generally built from a relatively small number of visual elements that each contribute slightly to the meaning of the depiction. Alone these elements may fulfill a variety of functions, but do not bear any symbolic content. On the other hand, their total sum does – the selected group of these visual elements determines the meaning of the image.

Through the motif of the bed we shall examine what kind of meanings such elements can convey. The bed is an obvious accompanying motif in scenes of healing, and also birth (considered a kind of malady). Furthermore, it provides the usual setting for death-related scenes, not only when the deceased is already lying in bed, but also when the saint bids farewell to his earthly existence. For example, the bed helps in deciphering the events immediately preceding – and thus representing – the deaths of Giles and Louis of Toulouse.⁹⁷ The bed generally symbolizes the sleeping chamber, but its function was not at all a place of rest but quite the contrary: Dominic and the mother of Alexis lie on the floor while their beds remain empty in the background.⁹⁸ In other cases the bed was the location of asceticism: Thomas Becket kept his half-finished hair shirt hidden under his bed,⁹⁹ while Dominic whipped himself three times a night (Fig. 76). Although the *Golden Legend* does not describe the location of Dominic's self-mortification, it was naturally the bedroom, a room suitable for the saint to carry out his ascetic practices in secret from others, or for miracles meant only for him to occur. The dream was a natural agent of this – although the visions depicted in the legendary did not come expressly in the form of a dream. When an angel informs Giles of his coming death, the

painter naturally chooses the bedroom as the setting, although the legend offers no information about the circumstances (L 156d). St Gregory the Great also visits his miserly successor in his bedroom (L 116d-d, Fig. 29), and on several occasions the bedroom is the setting for scenes of temptation. The motif of the bed thus signifies a location that is typically associated with certain situations.

Now we can ask how the image types were constructed and from what visual tools. One group of tools was used to define the characters through the use of personal attributes such as a shell for St James and the stigmata for St Francis (in the last image) or through more general means such as dress (the papal mitre or chasuble, the royal crown and robe, or the soldier's helmet, armor or shield¹⁰⁰), furnishings associated with rank (thrones of judges or rulers and the associated curtain) and implements (the book frequently found in the hands of clerics). These objects reveal the status of the characters. Another group of visual elements consists of further details of the surroundings (prison, church, baptismal font, a set table, and so on). These do not simply signify place, but much more: a situation. Gestures and body positions also contribute in this way and altogether a clear framework is provided for the events. Those characteristic moments, such as the ordination of a bishop, baptisms, or interrogations, fit in with the progress of the narrative, and become one of its episodes.

The "pre-fabricated" image types built from a variety of visual elements can be used at will to depict the individual episodes in the legend. At the same time it would be an exaggeration to say that the cycles of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* are simply a uniform, boring ensemble of alternating visual formulas. Obviously the image types also have varying elements that add nuance to the meanings, adjust the visual formulas to the specific legend, and render the narrative more diverse. In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* we can observe how attempts were made to conform the image types within certain limits to the requirements of the codex. One way was

to give the characters some individuality. In the burial scenes, for example, the figure of the deceased conveyed not only the type and rank of the saint, but also possibly his personality. This explains why the shell signifying James appears on the shroud of the apostle, why the prelates and kings wear mitres and crowns, and why traces of torture and execution appear on the bodies of martyrs. In addition, the number, rank, and social position of those present are adjusted to the person of the deceased, and thus bear additional meaning.

The varying elements, however, are not interchanged only when there is a need to express something, but also when such a decision has no significance in terms of the message of the image. An ordination of a bishop can be represented equally by an altar, chalice, book, curtain, and building details, and the number of objects or architectural elements also depends on how much space is taken up by secondary players.

In terms of basic meaning, alternative solutions were sometimes used when an image type recurs on the same page or several times within the same legend. In the legend of St Remy we find three ordinations of a bishop; in one the bishop is shown from the right, in another from the left, and in the third facing forward. This was clearly for the sake of variety. This is also the case when two burial scenes appear on the same page: the two customary forms (the dead lies on a funeral bier or is placed in a sarcophagus) appear alternately. In general, however, the makers of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* were not concerned about the monotony of image types.

The monotony of image types

The sources of the *Golden Legend* are known to be quite heterogeneous, produced over a vast expanse of space and time.¹⁰¹ A debate has gone on in the literature for some time over whether Jacobus de Voragine was the original author, or whether he simply compiled the legends.¹⁰² The

correct answer can obviously be found somewhere in the middle: the Dominican monk certainly did not strive for originality, but his compilation reveals his individual tastes and his aim of producing a handbook suited to the purpose (i.e. useful in preparing sermons). Already on this level we can observe some process of integration. In the next step, the translation of the legends into the visual idiom in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, the force of this unity prevailed to an even greater degree amidst the new system of selection and reediting. One visible sign of this process (and in part the reason for it) is the monotony of the image types used in the codex.

The recurring use of images of identical composition was, at least partly, a consequence of necessity. The legends needed to be put into a visual language, and a good portion of the selected scenes had no iconographic tradition, or at least not one that was accessible. No doubt, the painters of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* used prototypes too, although we should not imagine these as iconographic handbooks of individual saints, but rather as collections of certain motifs, compositional schemes, and characteristic details. Thus in creating the cycles, the executioners of the codex were not so much illustrating the texts, but selecting from among available image types and visual elements. As a consequence, the images sometimes contradict the text of the *Golden Legend*. In the cycle of Andrew the saint is not led from the prison by his fellow apostle but by an angel, probably a result of the convention in which miraculous liberation from prison is generally the work of angels (L 36b). Francis rescues the man with a sword through his throat by making the appropriate blessing gesture found in scenes of healing, with the injured kneeling before him and the saint escorted by his fellow monks. These motifs all contradict the text of the *Golden Legend* (Fig. 106). When the bees fly into the mouth of the infant Ambrose, a female figure not found in the legend appears: this is clearly a legacy of birth scene image types (L 118a). In the story of Alexis,



Fig. 106. Saint Francis of Assisi rescuing a man with a sword through his throat, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 91r (L 149d)

the statue of Mary tells the church watchman to lead the saint into the church, while in the picture this is reformulated into a vision of Mary (L 158a).

We could produce a long list of similar events, but these few typical examples sufficiently convey the power of these image types. It would be a mistake, however, to think that when the image types were pitted against the text, the images always prevailed. The painter strove to faithfully interpret the legends, but was limited by the expressive powers of the visual medium: not all events lent themselves to visual depiction or could be widely understood in a visual form.¹⁰³ At the same time, we cannot underestimate the convenience of an already established image type. Francis kneeling before the bishop represents a new pictorial solution in the iconographic tradition of

the saint, but the codex is full of such examples: figures kneeling before a cleric, even a prelate, are a favorite compositional type.¹⁰⁴

There is no question that a visual language built from a relatively small set of tools has its own limits. The selection of a given image type does not always allow for expression of multiple layers of meaning. When Giles gives a tunic to the ailing beggar, this act also heals him. This is not expressed by the image, however, since the act is represented as a gesture of almsgiving (L 155a). In Pavia, Augustine not only appears before the pilgrims, but also heals all of them. This aspect is completely lost in the picture (Fig. 107). This is precisely why sometimes different image types were used for similar situations: the makers

of the legendary wanted to emphasize different elements. For example, motifs of temptation could be represented by two figures lying next to each other or by a gesture of embrace, which derives from the image type of two people meeting. Sometimes temptation was also expressed by the type used for exorcisms or by the motif of dancing figures¹⁰⁵ – it all depended on what was to be conveyed.

The image types are to a certain degree flexible. When Mary Magdalene procures forgiveness for a penitent cleric, the picture merges image types used to show visions and miracles at the place of her cult (L 169d). At other times, the established image type expresses a shift in emphasis through more minor modifications. At the death of the predecessor of Pope Fabian the visual tools correspond to those used in customary death scenes. The gestures of pain, however, are absent, while the ascending dove clearly symbolizes that Fabian is the chosen one. In other words the question of a (miraculous) succession is more important than Last Rites (L 83a).

The selection of image types conveys not only the special focus of certain legends, but also the preferences of the codex. The regularly recurring image types are suitable for underlining the main messages of the program. In addition, they represent links between different saints. The iconography of the bishops Gerhard and Thomas Becket,¹⁰⁶ or Emeric and Ladislav¹⁰⁷ converge at so many points that it cannot be coincidental. And it is certainly more than just a case of one influencing another; we can presume there was a conscious attempt to tie certain saints to each other. Thus various groups become more unified, and the main features become more pronounced. This occurs not just within individual categories: the constantly recurring image types weave fine threads between all the various groups.

The legend of St Francis is the best example of all this. In the first image he embraces a leper, which is copied in Louis of Toulouse (Pa, Fig. 108, and Bc, Fig. 109); the prayer in front of the cross is also known from the legend

Fig. 107. Saint Augustine healing the pilgrims,
Hermitage 16931 (L 120d)





Fig. 108. Saint Francis of Assisi embracing a leper, Louvre RF 29940 (Pa)



Fig. 109. Saint Louis of Toulouse embracing a leper, Berkeley, Bancroft Library, BANC MS UCB 130: f1300: 37 (Bc)

of St Andrew (L 40a); the scene of almsgiving occurs in the legends of St Gregory the Great (Fig. 29), Dominic (L 143c) and Alexis (157b). The stoning by Francis' father refers to St Stephen the protomartyr (L 78c), and the scene of self-flagellation (IX) is familiar from the legend of Dominic (Fig. 76). In this same image another motif (Francis being thrown into the snow) has analogies in Bernard and Benedict (L 142b, 139b – which is also linked visually to scene VII of Francis). In addition the devils that torment Francis reappear in the famous scene from St Anthony.¹⁰⁸ The scene of liberation from prison and resurrection are related to the miracles in James and Mary Magdalene,¹⁰⁹ while those of healing and kneeling before the bishop follow more general types. Francis

being untied from the column (V) recalls not only saints tortured while similarly bound, but also Christ in particular. The foot-washing scene (VIII) in Francis also reminds us of Jesus' humility (Figs. 71–72).

Thus in the legend of St Francis, emphasis is placed on those features that tie him to the other founders of monastic orders, and in a broader context draw him into the community of saints. Especially important is the *imitatio Christi*, which Francis consciously strove for, but was true of all the saints in some form or another. The repeating image types thus served in several capacities: they effectively communicate the unity of the saints, the recurring examples intensify each other's effect, and they create the codex's system of internal coherence – the rhythm of the

narratives.¹¹⁰ However, we would be heading off course if we did not distinguish between each image and instead dealt with the various types as one completely uniform genre.

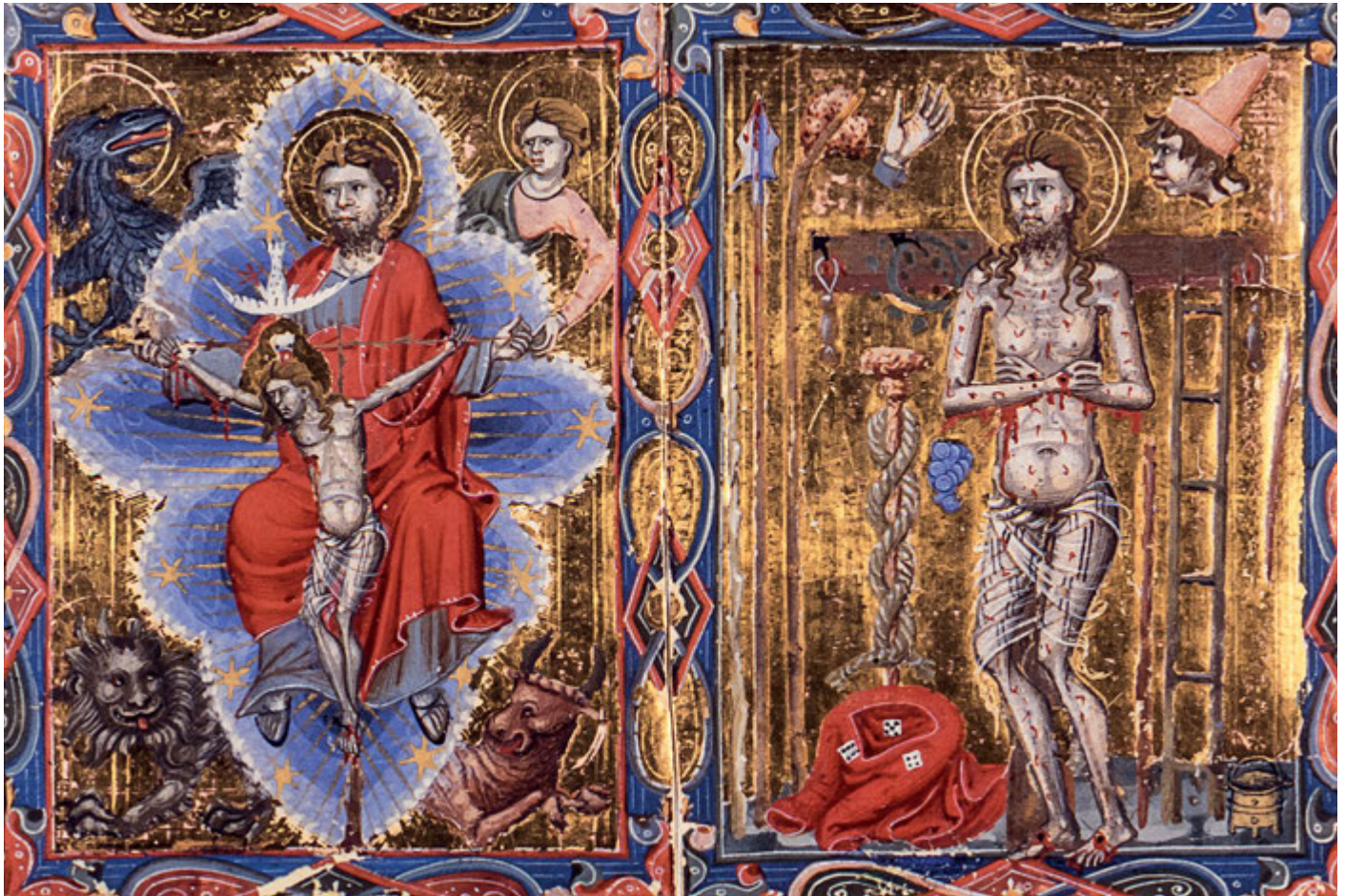
Historia, imago, devotional image

The individual image types are constructed from different visual elements, often selected from the same repertoire, but presented in a different arrangement with different proportions. Consequently the result is never the same. Whether the composition is static or dynamic,

however, is not merely a technical question – there are issues inherent in image types themselves that relate more broadly to the medieval functions of the image.¹¹¹

In a painted legendary, given the art form, we expect narrative scenes to dominate. This image type was known according to the medieval concept of an image as a *historia*, and was defended most often by western theology because of its didactic intent.¹¹² The *historia*, given its nature, is a part of the cycle, and its complete meaning becomes clear within the framework of the narrative. In contrast, the *imago* is a portrait of the person represented independent of narrative restrictions. Basically, we have

Fig. 110. The Throne of Mercy and Man of Sorrows, Morgan Library M.360.13 (L 16c-d)



to interpret the images in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* within the framework outlined by these two poles.¹¹³

Without question, every depiction in the codex fits formally within the framework of the narrative, and therefore the majority of pictures can be defined as *historia*. At the same time, however, some images become segregated within these boundaries. The legend of St Stephen the protomartyr, consisting of just two images, is not a real narrative, as neither image really serves to set forth the story (L78c-d). The second image, the burial scene, simply signifies the end of the cycle in the codex. The first image, the stoning, is almost an attribute of the protomartyr in the iconography, and the scene is often presented alone as a representation of the saint. This is even truer of the next cycle dedicated to Luke on the same page (L78a-b). Here, the burial scene is preceded merely by a portrait of the evangelist, which cannot in any way be considered a *historia*. It would be more correct to label it as the kind of *imago* that depicts the saint in the process of writing, as a classical author.

As the legends progress there are other scenes that serve as “rest stops” among the narrative events. For example, the coronations and papal inaugurations do not express any kind of action, but instead repeat the *maiestas* compositions.¹¹⁴ In terms of form, an icon-like solution is employed in the image of Christopher and the two converted girls, shown as a group of three framed by the window of the prison (Fig. 53). Meanwhile, the depiction of Sebastian pierced by arrows also does not merely signify a stage in his passion. In contrast to the usual torture scenes in the codex, here the saint stands alone in the picture showing his wounds, but without his executioners present (L85a). This kind of depiction allows viewers to identify with the saint and to meditate on his suffering.

The cycle of Jesus also contains a series of meditative compositions. The last page is especially characteristic (Fig. 110), showing traditional depictions of the Ascension and Pentecost followed by representations of the

Throne of Mercy (*Gnadenstuhl*) and the Man of Sorrows (*Vir dolorum*). These belong to the third type of picture, the so-called devotional images (*Andachtsbild*). There is another interesting depiction that follows the formula of the *Imago Pietatis*, but it does not appear as an independent picture. Instead we see it as an element in the Bolognese student's vision in the legend of Dominic (Fig. 111). We know of an important depiction of the *Imago Pietatis* in Bolognese book painting: the title page of a 1329 statute of confraternity in which the pure iconic form transforms into an object of devotion and is accurately labeled as such (*cum Domino Yhesu Christo in forma pietatis*).¹¹⁵ Obviously the *Andachtsbild*-type depictions in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* could not have worked like the

Fig. 111. *Imago Pietatis* in the vision of a Bolognese student in the legend of Saint Dominic, Morgan Library M.360.26 (L 145d)



usual devotional images, which were handled as independent objects of worship; nevertheless, they certainly offered the viewer a moment for reflection at certain stages of the narrative.

Another problem of the art form is revealed by images that seem narrative in nature, but are unrelated to any concrete text. Gerhard's preaching and Thomas Becket's celebration of mass are not illustrations of given events, but rather express the bishops' conscientious fulfillment of their responsibilities.¹¹⁶ In general this poses the following problem: to what extent can the cycles in the legendary be viewed as continuous narratives and to what degree as a catalogue of virtues presented with the

tools of an epic? A related question is whether independent images such as St George and the dragon (L 90a) or St Christopher and the baby Jesus (Fig. 112) blend in to some extent to the progress of the narrative or whether they play a more emphatic, independent role. In other words: what is the place of such highly important depictions that alone serve as representations of the saint in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*? The answers to these, however, take us beyond the world of image types and we find ourselves dealing with a broader question: the poetics of the image cycles.

Fig. 112. Saint Christopher carrying the Christ Child, Morgan Library M.360.23 (L 97c)



V.4. THE LESSONS OF THE PROGRAM

Until now we have examined how the transformation of texts into images works. The use of visual formulas, however, is suited for solving only certain problems. The sum of the image types does not total the entire codex. These formulas roam freely, and can depart from their original intentions as they enter a new environment. They gain meaning in the given context: this greater unit in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is the image cycle of the saint. Thus, getting closer to the aims of the patron, we need to explore which concepts prevailed in the compilation of the legendary. We shall examine what the choice of legends and the selected scenes within them emphasized. However, because an isolated study of the program alone would lead to hasty conclusions, we need to always keep in mind its relationship to the written sources, especially the *Golden Legend*, and the iconographic tradition that stands behind the images.

The poetics of the cycles

A significant portion of the fifty-eight legends in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is built on customary iconography. We find rather close parallels to some individual

series, such as the cycles of Vincent and George. In other cases, however, when there is no established tradition for the depiction, the designer of the program relies on analogies. Thus the sequence of scenes in the cycle of Fabian (L 83), which has almost no precedents, resembles the images in the better-known legend of Clement (L 101): the first scene shows the saint's election as pope, the second depicts him at rest (on the throne or in eremitic solitude), the third his martyrdom, and the fourth his burial. We encounter a similar phenomenon with the Hungarian saints too: the cycle of Gerhard is like that of Thomas Becket, but similarities can be found in the legend of Sebastian too.

The narrative's goal of a unified mode of presentation (which arose in part from necessity) is discernible not only in the cases described above. The characteristic editing that prevails in the structuring of the legends is found most often at crucial points in the legends: the opening and closing images. The most typical starting images define the status of the saint. The situation of the Church Fathers and the evangelists is signified by the classical author portraits, and the rank of the majority of bishops and popes is also established at the beginning by scenes of ordinations and inaugurations. Similarly, the only coronation scene also appears among the first images. Frequently the first appearance of the apostles shows them evangelizing. Another common method that helps to identify the saints occurs with those whose names are closely tied to some more famous episode in their biography such as Martin sharing his cloak with a beggar (Fig. 74), George's struggle with a dragon (L 90a), the famous temptation of Anthony (Fig. 113) or the martyrdom of Stephen (L 78c). Other saints are shown engaging in a typical activity (Blaise healing the animals, L 88a) or represented by a famous miracle (Benedict, L 139a). These of course do not interfere with the chronology of the legend – scenes that only come later in the progress of the narrative are placed in the appropriate spot in the cycle (for example the famous scene of Christopher crossing the river Fig. 112). The third type of



Fig. 113. The temptation of Anthony the Great, Hermitage 16934 (L 140c)

opening scene also results from the need to preserve the chronology: a miracle that occurs in the childhood of the saint foreshadows his later great deeds (Ambrose, Dominic, Bernard, Nicholas, and Vitus).¹¹⁷

One feature of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is the strange regularity with which burial scenes recur, coming at the end even when the text of the legend makes no mention of the event and no separate pictorial tradition exists for it. This is a kind of characteristic image type that serves to indicate the stage in the progress of the narrative: thus burial scenes are most frequently the closing image. A good example of how well this works is a typical mistake made by the author of the *tituli*: at scene XII in the cycle of Mary Magdalene, he automatically writes “Vltima quomodo fuit sepultus,” although

the legend continues on the next page. We have already mentioned that the cycles contain few posthumous miracles, especially those that take place at the gravesite. Only those saints whose cult is centered in Central Europe or who have some other connection to the Angevins tend to have such *post mortem* miracles at the end.

The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* interprets the events in the saints' lives between the typical opening and closing scenes according to its own customary practices. In writing about St Benedict, Edit Madas noted that Jacobus de Voragine reformulated the writings of St Gregory the Great so that instead of a flesh and blood saint who exemplifies love and spiritual care, Benedict is presented in the *Golden Legend* as a saint distinguished by miracles.¹¹⁸ The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* proceeds in the same vein, with the miracles gaining excessive prominence at the expense of other types of acts. The first three images in the life of Peter Martyr present four miracles, and only the last deals with the martyrdom of the saint (L 102). Other activities such as preaching or the measures taken against heresy are not illustrated. In the case of other martyrs the extensive presentation of their passions also serves to exemplify the power of Christian faith to triumph repeatedly over pagan abuse. Like the acts of torture, the miracles do not have an end in themselves. Their role is to provide the strongest arguments in favor of Christianity, which frequently leads to conversion of the pagans.¹¹⁹ If we examine the interrelationship of scenes showing religious disputes and baptisms, we find that one does not presuppose the other as much as we might expect. Evangelizing is only truly effective if accentuated by a miracle, and the miracle itself is sufficient to achieve conversion, without any disputes. The various image types follow a similar sequence of scenes showing interrogation – torture – execution – burial.

The ordering of the scenes thus follows a certain logic. The progress of the narrative naturally never departs from the textual sources, but its development follows a

course laid out by the framework of the visual rendering. On several occasions the entire legend is built on the rhythm of the alternating image types. In the legend of Sixtus the progress of the passion is broken up by multiple refusals to worship idols.¹²⁰ The legend of Donatus, which immediately follows, also stands out for its rhythmic construction.¹²¹ The selected scenes are also adjusted to the overall look of the entire page. There are examples of the functionally different scenes appearing on the first and second pages of the legend: thus the public acts and miracles occupy the first page, while scenes of the passion fill the second.¹²² In general, the neighboring images harmonize with each other to a certain degree, while attempts to create balance on the page through the distribution of related scenes and colors are obvious.¹²³

The focal points of the program

In the literature dealing with the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* several kinds of opinions are expressed with regard to what the designers of the program considered important. Scholars generally highlighted Franciscan thought, the knightly atmosphere or the ideal of physical and spiritual purity.¹²⁴ Traditional research, following Levárdy, saw in all this “episodes designed for the religious and moral education of the royal prince.”¹²⁵ These statements, however, cannot be verified in every respect.

The two favorite saints of the Angevin period, who had the most important role in the dissemination of knightly virtues, were George and Ladislás. In addition, the apostle James the Greater also stands out among the warrior saints.¹²⁶ However, this feature is not prominent in the pages of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. Dezső Dercsényi was justified in distinguishing between the images of Ladislás created by the legendary and the *Illuminated Chronicle*: in the former Ladislás is the saint of the Church, while the latter presents him as a knightly saint.¹²⁷ The most important “chivalrous act”



Fig. 114. King Henry II receiving Saint Thomas of Canterbury, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 70r (L 113a)



Fig. 115. King Stephen of Hungary receiving Saint Gerhard, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 68r (L 111a)

of St George, freeing the princess, is reduced to one image in the legendary, followed by scenes of his evangelizing and suffering, as in other cycles of saints who were not knights. St James, who became one of Europe's favorite saints thanks to his help in the struggle against the Moors,¹²⁸ appears in the legendary as the vanquisher of Hermogenes the sorcerer and as a martyr. In addition, through his posthumous miracles he continues as a guardian of pilgrims, but he does not engage in battle. It was in this exact period that emphasis of Martin's role as knight became popular in iconography, although there is no echo of this in the codex.¹²⁹ Apparently the aspect of knightliness was not a characteristic of particular interest in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.

Moreover, worldly concerns are also foreign to the codex. The image of lay people demonstrates this well. For example, we encounter the rulers in two typical roles: either they convert to Christianity or they persecute, interrogate and execute Christians – with the last point the most common. Only a total of two images show a “good king” holding audience: Henry II receives Thomas Becket (Fig. 114) and St Stephen Gerhard (Fig. 115).¹³⁰ Later it turns out that the English king is capable of the greatest acts of evil; in the portrait of Stephen, however, strangely he is depicted without a halo – as if the painter was unclear on which king he is.¹³¹

From the perspective of the dynasty the most important matter was ensuring an heir. Typically, in the

Illuminated Chronicle, which indeed had a dynastic bent, the births of the founder of the ruling house (St Stephen) and the ruler at the time (Louis the Great) are shown.¹³² This aspect is obviously less important in a legendary than in a chronicle. In the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* St Emeric's oath of celibacy (Fig. 61) and the virgin marriage of Alexis (L 157a) offer particularly little inspiration for maintaining a dynasty.

We can expand on these observations by examining the political or religious attitude characterizing the codex. The absence of any kind of invective against heresy is worth mentioning; the subject is avoided even at those moments where it would normally be expected.¹³³ The image of the papacy proves even more instructive: St Gregory the Great beats his stingy successor to death (Fig. 29), and Hilary also exchanges words with a pope, who shortly thereafter dies a horrible death (L 165b). At the same time no more serious constructive activities are associated with the popes. The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* even omits scenes of the religious orders being founded, which are frequently depicted elsewhere. But this is excluded even in the legend of St Francis.¹³⁴ The saint-popes similarly do not appear in their roles as prelates: Sylvester is shown as religious debater, evangelizer and saint with miraculous powers, but scenes of the baptism of Constantine, the triumph of Christianity and the donation of Constantine are missing. Given all this, the codex was certainly not intended as a gift to a pope.¹³⁵

Pope Sylvester is not the only saint who had characteristic episodes expressing his relationship to secular powers omitted from his legend. In the legendary Pope Gregory is not shown praying for the spiritual salvation of Traianus, nor does he run into conflict with Emperor Mauritius. Also missing from the legendary are scenes of Fabian and Ambrose convincing Philip and Theodosius to repent, or King Totila bowing before Benedict. The most frequently depicted acts of Remy, i.e. the baptism

and coronation of Clovis, were also left out.¹³⁶ On the other hand, scenes of the saints suffering persecution by worldly powers are common; in particular the assassinations of Stanislaw and Thomas Becket or the torments suffered by Ambrose or Donatus at the mercy of the Arian empress or the apostate Julian¹³⁷ come to mind. Scenes of reconciliation, such as the king kneeling before the wounded Giles, with the bishop shown as pope (L 156a), are rarely depicted.

The program does not contain even one motif suggesting the Church as a source of power with the opposition doomed to failure. Instead of the triumphant Church we find the suffering Church. The saints generally only receive satisfaction after their deaths, and the secular powers aid in this: the corpse of Alexis is carried by the pope and the emperors to its final resting place (L 158d).

If the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* had no interest in Church politics, then perhaps its origins can be found deeper within the structure of the Church. The relationship of legendaries to certain religious orders or monastic saints frequently aids greatly in establishing the place of commission. The main source, the *Golden Legend* of Jacobus de Voragine, is Dominican in origin; thus it is understandable that the legends of the saints of that order (Dominic and Peter Martyr) are among the longest.¹³⁸ These proportions are not carried over into the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*: the founder of the order is allotted twelve (?) images and the first martyr just four. In contrast, Francis and St Louis of Toulouse, representatives of the other mendicant order, are more distinguished with sixteen and twelve (?) images each. Thus we can exclude the possibility that any Dominican influence prevailed in the program.

Similarly the presence of Franciscan thought does not appear significant. Unprecedented in the iconography of Francis is the depiction of him kneeling before the bishop who takes him in when he breaks with his father (Fig. 70). This composition would never occur in a

Franciscan codex.¹³⁹ At the same time the usual scenes that glorify a religious order and its founder are strikingly absent from the painted legendary. Instead of playing a distinguished role because of his miraculous visions, Francis blends in with the other saints. It is also conspicuous how while the cycles of the apostles and martyrs frequently contain preaching scenes, those of the saints belonging to the Mendicant Orders never do. In general, their missionary work and public acts are rare in the codex. The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* clearly bears no evidence of a mendicant frame of mind.

There is no suggestion of ties to any other religious order either. In fact the makers of the program show little interest in monasticism. Although numerous founders appear in the codex, none are shown in the act of establishing an order. Their role as monks is deemphasized, and scenes of their taking the hood, common in other cycles, are completely omitted from the legendary. This is in stark contrast to the cycles of popes and bishops, in which scenes of inauguration and ordination regularly occur. Among the liturgical acts, much less prominence is given to daily offices than to other events more associated with the secular clergy. But this difference can be felt in the selection of saints too: the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* contains at least fourteen bishops and five popes, but only eight monks.¹⁴⁰ Clearly the attitudes of the secular clergy prevailed in the design of the program.

Thus we are justified in posing the question: what image does the codex present of the bishop-saints? We have mentioned several times that great emphasis was placed on their legitimacy: of the cycles that can be analyzed ten contain ordination scenes (which is often one of the first images), and only two lack any such scene.¹⁴¹ In the hierarchy of saints, the bishops appear in every category, even among the apostles, and James the Less is shown exclusively in episcopal vestments. Analysis of the martyrs showed they can be divided into two basic groups. In the first, the cycles of the older and more traditional martyrs

in the Roman Church are dominated by scenes of their passion, while in the second, other motives are emphasized. Although an important bishop-saint (Blaise) belongs in the first group, it is no coincidence that the second group contains a large number of bishop-saints: Donatus, Stanislaw, Gerhard and Thomas Becket. At least eight bishops are also present in the various groups of confessors too.¹⁴²

What qualities characterize the bishops? Like the majority of saints, they work miracles. In addition they have a scholarly aspect, which is especially true of the Church Fathers, but also of Gerhard, shown with a book in hand during his life as a hermit, and Hilary, also shown with a book as he engages in debate. A book defines the bishop of Assisi who takes in Frances as well.¹⁴³ The bishops are also martyrs who are murdered at the altar for their staunch defense of their faith (Stanislaw and Thomas Becket). They conscientiously carry out their episcopal responsibilities – preaching and celebrating mass. These images, however, do not refer to any concrete event. Finally the question of purity deserves separate analysis, as it crops up frequently in the legends of the bishops.

In discussing the monks, we touched on the regular recurrence of motifs of temptation, celibacy and asceticism, which are tightly intertwined with the life of a hermit, and perhaps derive from a more traditional concept of monasticism. Mary Magdalene, the “penitent” achieved popularity in the thirteenth and fourteenth century precisely because she repented¹⁴⁴ and found a life of solitude the most suitable way to atone.

Even the bishops cannot escape temptation: in the only posthumous miracle of Andrew the Apostle, he saves a bishop from the temptation of the devil who is disguised as a beautiful woman. Church prelates are frequently accused of lust too: the apostles Simon and Judas save an innocent cleric falsely accused (L 70b) and Brice is the victim of similar allegations (Fig. 116). Like Brice, the



Fig. 116. Saint Brice calling upon a thirty-day-old child to bear witness and carrying glowing embers in his mantle, Vat. lat. 8541, fol. 93v (L 154c-d)

cycle of Remy also centers on purity. Remy scarcely appears in the legend, as the focus is on Genebald, who as bishop enters into a sinful relationship with his former wife and has two children. However, the bishop repents and is reinstated – his son later follows in his footsteps, rising to the rank of bishop, and is ultimately canonized (L 162-163). It is worth noting that while in the case of the monks the emphasis is on temptation, here it is on forbidden relationships: the accusation or fruits of such a relationship forms the core of the story.

An analysis of the unique aspects of the program provides some negative and positive data concerning the commissioning of the codex. In the following we shall discuss what can be learned from this.

Program and commissioner

Research on the patron of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* has focused almost entirely on circle of the Hungarian Angevins. Where opinions are divided, however, is over the function of the legendary. The selection of saints clearly points to a Hungarian origin. Even a foreign commission of the book as a representative gift for the Hungarian court would not explain the compilation. Instead the startlingly rich material points to a commission from the ruling circle in Hungary.

According to our present knowledge of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, it consisted of more than 176 folios and a total of 700 images. All had gold-plated

backgrounds, and the attire and haloes of the figures as well as details in the frame were also gilded. It must have been one of the most richly decorated codices in fourteenth century Hungary (and possibly in all of Europe). As a comparison: of the 1492 pages of the similarly impressive, contemporary work, the Néksei Bible, 108 are decorated, generally with just one image, and these in no way rival the miniatures in the legendary. The commissioner of the bible, Demeter Néksei, for decades held one of the most highly ranked court offices as treasurer.¹⁴⁵ The codices ordered by the prelates of the country for their own use were far less ornate. Among these was the legal codices of Miklós Vásári made in Bologna in 1343, in which the impressive opening images were supplemented by more modest initials.¹⁴⁶ The *Missal of James of Piacenza* was made in Avignon in 1339.¹⁴⁷ The manuscripts mentioned provide only a dim reflection of Hungarian book culture during the Angevin period; nevertheless they still point to a royal commission for the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. The legendary even outshines the *Illuminated Chronicle*, commissioned some one and a half to two decades later (ca. 1358) and almost certainly by a ruler of Hungary.¹⁴⁸ Internal arguments cannot exclude the possibility of a royal commission either; the inclusion of Hungarian saints, and the cults of St Ladislav and Gerhard fit in well with the image formed of the court of Charles I (1308-1342).¹⁴⁹ But we cannot draw far-reaching conclusions merely because certain saints were included – not one is connected exclusively to the Angevin family.¹⁵⁰

Thus the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* could be tied to the name of Charles I. The question, however, is whether the book was intended for his own library or as a representative gift?¹⁵¹ Unfortunately we can only speculate. At the same time, however, an analysis of the program of the codex reveals several aspects that would reduce the circle of possible recipients of the gift. It is unlikely that the codex was made for Pope Benedict XII or

any other pope. Nor does the dynastic character appear significant; at least nothing points to the ruler's successor, the heir to the throne of Naples, as the intended beneficiary. The idea that the codex was made as a picture book for the royal children is in any case rather unhistorical.¹⁵² In addition, the codex contains neither a representative political message nor one relating to ecclesiastical politics. Possibly it was meant for some kind of church institution – but not the royal monasteries, since monastic life receives such little emphasis.

The most peculiar feature of the codex, which cannot be easily explained, is the extensive cycle of St James the Greater. Certainly the reason may lie with the concrete creation of the codex, in connection with either the patron or the target audience. But ties to a particular saint can be so complex that it overwhelms the research – sooner or later almost every biography contains a James. He might be the patron saint of the commissioner, the recipient or a close relative; James could also be the patron saint of the target church institution; he might be the protector of another institution important for some reason; personal reasons may also lie behind the particular veneration of this saint; finally, the apostle's cult in Compostela may also play a role, since large numbers of pilgrims from all over Europe flocked there, and for these participants it was the experience of a lifetime. Thus we cannot use this feature as a starting point, but we should certainly keep it in mind. At the same time, it is unlikely that anyone outside the circle of the commissioner or the target reader (if the two were not the same) would have interfered in a question of such great importance. This is why we reject Dezső Dercsényi's suggestion that the designers of the program intended to "remind (Prince Andrew) of his own good services with a long narrative of the legend of St James."¹⁵³ The designer of the program would scarcely have allowed his own personal preferences to influence the construction of the codex to such a degree.

In other respects, though, it is quite likely that elements in some legends may bear traces of the designer's own knowledge and individual tastes. With this assumption, Tünde Wehli has sought the identity of the designer among the bishops linked to the see of Csanád, including Csanád of Telegd and his relatives, especially in connection to the image cycle of Gerhard, unknown in any other source. She is also correct in noting that the program designer might not be one person, but a group.¹⁵⁴ Clearly these highly educated prelates could have most easily established ties with Bolognese workshops specializing in manuscript illumination.

The next question is whether the episcopal aspect so strongly manifest in the program of the codex is a result of the program designer's point of view, or whether there were other reasons in the background. As we know, Charles I, whose ascension to the throne was in no small measure thanks to the high clergy, had a strained relationship with the prelates. In February 1328 they conspired against him in Kalocsa, and the troubled relationship continued into the 1330s climaxing with the 1338 letter in which some of the bishops turned to Charles I to protest his unacceptable church policies.¹⁵⁵ Perhaps this explains why he attempted to replace the disgruntled bishops with his own, reliable people: James of Piacenza was made bishop of Csanád and then Zagreb, while Csanád of Telegd was made bishop of Eger and then archbishop of Esztergom. Charles I continued this policy by even placing his illegitimate son, Coloman, in the episcopal seat of Győr. The designer of the program and maybe even the recipient perhaps comes from this circle. Combining the episcopal character and the royal quality of the legendary, a new hypothesis can also be formulated. It cannot be excluded that it was intended as a gift to Coloman for his consecration of bishop of Győr in 1338.¹⁵⁶

At present, however this is just an idea. It appears more likely that a member of the Angevin court was responsible for the commission. Now, at the end of this study, we

should try to capture this very moment of conception – in other words we need to discuss what thoughts might have stood behind the unique fashioning of the codex.

V.5. THE IDEA OF THE CODEX

In the last section of this study we would like to draw some conclusions about the two endpoints in the production process of this codex: first, the moment when the need for the codex arose, and second, the completion and actual using of the codex. The preliminary thoughts (in an ideal case) extend to the future role and function of the object. At this point, our questions about the nature of the codex thus gravitate towards the aims and the result: our object is the codex, as an idea and as a materialized concept.

The codex, as an article of value

We have no contemporary sources concerning the value of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, and given that data on illuminated manuscripts is at present scarce, we have no opportunity to determine this.¹⁵⁷ At first glance, however, the rich gilding and the quantity of miniatures suggest it was among the most expensive works on the “book market.”¹⁵⁸ Because of the material value of such extraordinary codices, their function was generally not everyday use. They were preserved in treasuries where they could be properly cared for and viewers were only rarely permitted access.¹⁵⁹ For instance, the library of Louis IX was placed in a “suitable and strong place” (*locum aptum et fortem*) in the treasury of the chapel (*in capellae thesauro*).¹⁶⁰ The books in the royal treasury were passed on from generation to generation: the will of St Louis bequeathed undecorated volumes to the cloisters, while illuminated codices were kept in royal possession.¹⁶¹ A will concerning books was common in court circles, which attests to the importance of *libri honesti*. They functioned as treasures to

be accumulated, much like the works of gold- and silver-smiths.¹⁶²

Precisely because of their value, these codices were useful in achieving certain political goals of the ruler. The custom of ordering richly gilt illuminated manuscripts dates back to the period of Charlemagne, who used them to reward the imperial cloisters – this was practically akin to paying them in gold.¹⁶³ But their value was not the only reason these codices were considered appropriate royal gifts. Containing gold or silver lettering on a purple base, these codices presented a corrected version of the Scriptures or a revised text of the liturgy, thereby conveying to the beneficiary a notion of the cultured ruler worthy of his Roman predecessors.¹⁶⁴ The *libri deaurati* were suitable for adding some weight to a request (hence the series of gifts associated with the coronation of the emperor) or assuring the loyalty of imperial subjects. A generous gift at the same time was an expression of power. The political significance of such a sumptuous codex does not cease over the centuries: a notable example is the Bible of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, which was probably a gift of Charles the Bald to the pope on the occasion of his coronation as emperor in 875. In this volume we can find Robert Guiscard's oath of allegiance to Gregory VII, recorded in 1080.¹⁶⁵

However, we cannot determine whether such political considerations were the exclusive motivations for such generous gifts in every instance. Obviously, such bestowals were also a sign of the piety of the benefactor and their regard for the Church, inspired by the desire to attain salvation either for themselves or their ascendants. The act is similar to that of donors who had new buildings erected or decorated existing ones in order to gain distinction. In any case the price of these luxurious codices was comparable to that of constructing a building.¹⁶⁶

Thus the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* belongs to that family of luxury codices that were valued not only for their function, but rather for their cost.¹⁶⁷ We do not

know whether the volume was kept in the royal library of Charles I, or whether it was intended as a royal gift. It is certain, however, that one of its main functions derived from its sumptuousness.

Image and text

The cycles in the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* strike a unique chord in many respects, even among legendaries. Leslie Ross re-examined hagiographic codices based on the number of pictures and their placement.¹⁶⁸ She examined three groups of manuscripts which represent varying degrees of ornateness. One type consists of the martyrologies, which generally contain a large number of saints and relatively few facts (name, date, place, and so on), and consequently the individual saints receive little prominence. Most often similar series of portraits created the unified notion of a community of saints. At the other extreme are the richly illustrated *libelli*, which were meant to satisfy the special interests of individual commissioners: monasteries or other patrons. As a result, the texts are accompanied by depictions of those critical moments in the legend that reveal the individual face of the saint. In contrast to the martyrologies, which were made for daily liturgical use, the *libelli* were more festive, designed to show the status of the patron. The legendaries represent a middle state between these two extremes. Their ornateness varies from case to case, and before the eleventh century it was not even customary to decorate them. Eleventh and twelfth century Italian examples largely contain busts of the saints or standing figures, without any particular individualization. Beginning in the twelfth century the initials were adorned with scenes, usually of the most important or most characteristic stories from the life of the saint. Among the most richly ornate legendaries is the so-called *Stuttgart Passional* from the second half of the twelfth century: the legend of every saint is introduced by a large, figural initial, and contains a few full-page illustrations.¹⁶⁹

A further examination of volumes of the *Golden Legend* reveals that their decoration is generally rather modest. Italian manuscripts were usually satisfied with a few figural initials.¹⁷⁰ Some more ornamented examples can be found among contemporary French and English codices.¹⁷¹ Every saint in a fourteenth century northern French manuscript is accompanied by one miniature, frequently depicting two scenes.¹⁷² A fragment of an English *Golden Legend* from around 1310-20 suggests the entire manuscript was adorned with figural initials.¹⁷³ A Regensburg manuscript of the *Golden Legend* from 1295 contains a full-page miniature divided into four parts on the first folio, but this is the only illustration in the entire volume.¹⁷⁴

Based on the level of decoration, the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* falls between the *libelli* and the legends, appearing instead like a series of *libelli* bound together. Thus it occupies an entirely unique place, not only among manuscripts of the *Golden Legend*, but also among the entire stock of hagiographic codices.

The Regensburg manuscript also calls attention to another unusual feature of our codex, which manifests itself in the distribution of the images. This system of dividing the miniatures into four vertically rectangular fields is exceptional in Bolognese manuscript illumination,¹⁷⁵ and was also uncommon elsewhere in the first decades of the fourteenth century. Some typical cases will be discussed below.

Among earlier works, the *Quedlinburg Itala* (beginning of the fifth century) is a typical example of the image field divided into four quarters.¹⁷⁶ From our perspective those instances in which the four quarters form vertically rectangular units are more important. This is not unknown in Byzantine manuscript illumination either, which had an influence on Bologna in the decades prior to the making of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.¹⁷⁷ Notably, Jewish manuscripts also used this system.¹⁷⁸ But similar arrangements of the images were known earlier in the north: the cycle of St Gregory presented in this way

can be found in the Weingarten codex of around 1190-95,¹⁷⁹ and it was used in the *Scheyern Matutinal* from around 1220-35.¹⁸⁰ Aside from the c. 1295 Regensburg *Golden Legend*¹⁸¹ mentioned above, the c. 1330 *plenarium* of Otto the Mild, the prince of Brunswick, stands closest in time to our codex. It contains two full pages of illustrations each divided into four miniatures.¹⁸²

English manuscript illumination provides the greatest abundance of examples of image fields divided into four from the period of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, but they are not from legends. At the beginning of the *De le Twyere Psalter*, there are thirteen full pages of illustrations each divided into four parts showing scenes from the Old and New Testaments.¹⁸³ The *Peterborough Psalter* is decorated with 109 typological miniatures, generally divided into four images per page.¹⁸⁴ Most of the eleven full-page images in the *Ramsay Psalter* are arranged into four images; all eleven pages are found at the beginning of the codex.¹⁸⁵ The *Barlow Psalter* has five pages of illustrations also divided into four images per page, all depicting scenes from the New Testament.¹⁸⁶ The most famous of these works is the *Queen Mary Psalter*, whose 223 images are generally placed in pairs in the first half of the codex, but after folio 234 the division of the illustrated pages into four images becomes the norm.¹⁸⁷ The *Psalter* listed above date to the first decades of the fourteenth century; in a somewhat later codex, the *Egerton Genesis*, one to four images appear on each illustrated page.¹⁸⁸

This distribution of images is not uncommon in fourteenth century French manuscript illumination either, but the majority of works date to the middle or second half of the century. The most characteristic works are the secular epic *La Roman de la Rose*,¹⁸⁹ the Roman history of Livius,¹⁹⁰ and the *Grandes chroniques de France*,¹⁹¹ in which certain illustrated pages contain four images. The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* is comparable to these in that complicated narrative texts are illustrated with several condensed scenes.

In terms of the task to be accomplished, a related codex is a Bible from Padua dating to the end of the fourteenth century, which is now preserved in Rovigo and London. The Pentateuch, and the books of Joshua and Ruth are illustrated with 870 images divided into groups of four. Above and below the images are *tituli* in Italian, all beginning with the expression “come.” According to the publishers this is the only volume among all the Latin and French bibles that has this kind of page layout.¹⁹² Although later than the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, this serves as its counterpoint among bibles because of the nature of the enterprise. The first part of the Pamplona Bible also illustrates the stories of the scripture, but is then followed by hagiographic cycles.

The grouping of the images into fours also appears in other codex types from the fourteenth century. One branch of the *Biblia pauperum* that preserves the earlier form is the so-called Weimar group, which contains four typological scenes on a page.¹⁹³ Similarly, a unit of four characterizes the codices of the *Speculum humanae salvationis* type. An earlier type distributed the images and the accompanying text so that two pictures appear in the upper parts of the two neighboring pages with the text below in four columns.¹⁹⁴ This arrangement may have arisen in Bologna. According to the marginalia, the volume made in 1429 for Petrus de Vitalis, a *cantor* of Kassa (now Košice, Slovakia), may be a copy of just such a codex from the first decades of the fourteenth century.¹⁹⁵ More instructive from our perspective, however, is a later version of the codex, in which the facing pages contained either two images each or one column of text: in other words, two illustrated pages were followed by two pages of text.¹⁹⁶

Precisely this characteristic arouses our interest and prompts us to examine whether a similar system (or at least plans for one) might have been devised for the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*. After all, two pages of illustration are followed by two blank pages, which may have been intended for text. The lack of rule lines, however,

would contradict this, since the *lineator* would certainly have outlined the place for the images and text at the same time. Moreover, the text was usually written before the images were added, and there is no reason for us to believe this order would have been reversed. Instead there is another more likely reason for the blank pages: the finer side of the vellum was used for the miniatures, and some of the colors and drawings show through on the reverse side. When the images dominate, the reverse side of the picture was often left blank in luxury codices: an example of this is the thirteenth century *Bible moralisée*.¹⁹⁷

Thus, if the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* contained text, it could have only appeared at the beginning or end of the codex.¹⁹⁸ The professional literature has generally supported this idea,¹⁹⁹ although it is not at all obvious – after all, there are illustrated legendaries that do not include text, such as the hagiographic parts of the Pamplona Bibles²⁰⁰ and the fourteenth century *Liber depictus* too.²⁰¹ Thus we can further pose the question: if the author of the *titulus* had access to the entire texts of the legends, then why did he fail to rely on them in drafting the inscriptions? This is not simply a case of another missing part of an otherwise fragmentary codex. Instead we are dealing with a question of content and genre. As such, we should reformulate the question: were the texts of the legends at all necessary for proper use of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*?

From the perspective of the relationship between the images and the text, it is worth recalling a luxury hagiographic codex from the beginning of the fourteenth century made for a royal commission. This three-volume, bi-lingual (Latin and French), richly illustrated version of the legend of St Denis was made in 1317 for the French king Philip V in Saint-Denis.²⁰² His father, Philip the Fair, had commissioned it earlier, and the choice of topics is typical: a French national saint, the first bishop of Paris is presented in this vast undertaking illustrated with a multitude of full-page images.²⁰³ The task of the

images is to break up the text: to separate the Latin and French parts. Obviously the secular patron relied on the French text, and the images (in addition to their other functions) served as a point of reference, assisting him in finding the next section in French.

For longer narrative texts, the illustrations not only helped in finding the appropriate parts in the text, but also aided in the comprehension of long-winded, tiring, opaque texts that may have presented language problems for the reader; in fact, studying the pictures and the accompanying rubrics may have substituted for reading.²⁰⁴ The codex in this respect may have functioned somewhat like a comic book. The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* was thus advantageous to its users because the images and simple Latin texts allowed the users to orient themselves relatively quickly within the world of saints. Even if there was an accompanying text, the true sense of the codex is provided by the unbroken chain of cycles, undisturbed by lengthy Latin texts; the colorful stories can be enjoyed without obstacle.

That the codex was designed primarily as a visual experience and not as an illustration to a text is demonstrated by the arrangement of the images. The way the painted images face each other produces a diptych-like effect frequently relied on by the designer of the program. Since the average length of the legends is eight pictures, in many cases the entire legends could be presented as one unified spectacle – one viewing experience. We find this most often in quires 11, 12, 13, 19 and 22 (for example in the cycles of Mark, Sebastian, Vincent, Blaise, Bernard, Remy and Hilary).²⁰⁵ In terms of the structuring of the images, a similar phenomenon can be found in the *Illuminated Chronicle* too.²⁰⁶

Work and audience

Researchers have always been aware of the unique genre of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* – of its picture book

quality. Dezső Dercsényi has pointed out that the “appearance of the miniatures of the Vatican *Legendary* strongly differ from the usual forms of the period. The emphasis is on the miniatures ... (these) do not explain the text; instead the double rows of text can be viewed as explanations of the pictures. The stress is not on the words but the images.”²⁰⁷ Ferenc Levárdy also set off in a similar vein when he attempted to determine the patronage of the codex: “the codex was clearly intended to be a picture book, certainly designed for the royal children who were just learning to read.”²⁰⁸ The idea of a book appropriate for children but also richly illustrated so as to reflect their rank is unhistorical and no such analogies exist from the fourteenth century. It is based on the assumption that such a book displays an intellectual simplicity that only a child possesses. We should realize, however, that this trend is far more serious than previously recognized: the need for images is not limited to children, and it played an important role even among the most distinguished circles of patrons.

In the fourteenth century two significant changes took place in the world of images. One was the spread of devotional images (*Andachtsbild*), and the other the rise of illustrated legends, or *historia* (fresco cycles, illustrated codices). These are two sides of the same coin: the intensive and extensive forms of the renewed demand for images.²⁰⁹

The characteristic codices of the period can be placed within this system of connections. The popular picture books of the fourteenth century, the *Speculum humanae salvationis* and the *Bibliae pauperum*, with their typological systems, served to inspire meditation, but at the same time also satisfied the demand for narrative by pursuing the action of the stories. The patrons of these works generally came from among the less-qualified priesthood. The Vatican *Speculum*, with ties to Kassa and probably based on an early fourteenth century Bolognese codex, shows us the demands of an early fifteenth century

Hungarian *cantor*.²¹⁰ Similarly, the story and the dissemination of the *Speculum* sketch a typical monastic circle. Shorter versions of the *Speculum*, which spread mostly in Central and Northern Germany, were originally associated with the Teutonic Knights. We know that around 1400 the monasteries of the order used the work in German translation, since it was consistent with the spiritual needs of the knights, their veneration of Mary, and their mystical tendencies.²¹¹ At the same time the majority of surviving examples come primarily from nunneries, such as a c. 1360 version belonging to the nuns of Clarenberg.²¹²

Biblia pauperum manuscripts are also generally viewed as typical monastic products,²¹³ and researchers have even sought prototypes in southern German or Austrian cloisters dating to the mid-thirteenth century. A later version supplemented by a hagiographic collection, which has already been mentioned several times in this study, was made for the Minorites of Krumau (Česky Krumlov): the *Liber depictus* housed in Vienna.²¹⁴ It is easy to imagine these works having an appeal not only among monastic circles but also among laypeople, which in part explains translations into vernacular languages.²¹⁵ That the closest analogy to the *Liber depictus* in terms of its approach to the legends, its distribution of images, and its use of inscriptions can be found in the 1338 cycle of St George in the castle of Jindřichův Hradec²¹⁶ supports this idea. In other words courtly perceptions could not have differed

that strikingly from those of the monastic world. The literate nobility and the residents of a cloister were both receptive audiences to this kind of book production.²¹⁷

This is the intellectual climate in which the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* can be placed. Changes occurring in the visual culture of the fourteenth century clearly left their marks in this codex too. Static compositions and devotional images are among the fundamentally narrative scenes – thereby the codex demonstrates both the triumph of the *historia* and the diffusion of the *Andachtsbild*. The codex carries out complex tasks: it invites the reader to both immerse himself in the colorful stories and also contemplate deeply the mystical world of new religiosity.

The *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* can therefore be associated with either a secular or non-scholastic ecclesiastical layer, which was susceptible to the new phenomena of religiosity and could appreciate the contemplative and didactic features of the codex. At the same time its execution is characterized by a richness that distinguishes it from all related illustrated codices. This outstanding example of fourteenth century manuscript illumination thereby sheds light on the culture and spiritual orientation of the Hungarian Angevin court. Its creation can be attributed to its ability to satisfy the demands for courtly display and fulfill requirements of the new religiosity and the latest concept of the image. Only in such an environment do the visual world of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* find meaning.

NOTES

- 1 Alexander 1992, 52. Of these he publishes eight as appendices: 179–183. At the same time he suggests that important groups of sources still need to be examined.
- 2 This was based on Roman law. Alexander refers to a 1965 dissertation: Hannelore Glasser, *Artists' Contracts of the Early Renaissance*, PhD, Columbia University. Alexander 1992, 53 and note 4.
- 3 Alexander 1992, 53.
- 4 Baxandall 1972, especially 14–17.
- 5 The four possibilities listed below were suggested by Alexander 1992, 53.
- 6 Alexander 1992, 53.
- 7 Eberlein 1995, 124–138.
- 8 Thus Wehli writes in MoMT II. 1987, 369: “They may have used a pattern book for the program, which may have been accessible not only to the painters of the Legendary but to the makers of Miklós Vásári’s codices.” Cf. also Dorsch 1983.
- 9 On the typical fourteenth century pattern books: Jenni 1978.
- 10 Alexander 1992, 53–54.
- 11 Research to date has thought this: the ideas of Levárdy, Dercsényi and Wehli are discussed in the section on research history.
- 12 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Ms Latin 10483-4. Sandler 1978. Cf. Alexander 1992, 53–54, ill. 74.
- 13 London, British Library, Ms Add. 47682. Sandler 1986, cat. no. 97; Alexander 1992, 54, ill. 77.
- 14 These observations are discussed one by one below, and are also summarized in Table 13.
- 15 Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria, Ms. 1465, fol. 3. Alexander 1992, 37, ill. 54.
- 16 Certosa di Calci, cod. 1. Alexander 1992, 36 and note 26. Cf. Cahn 1982, 222–226 and cat. no. 118, p. 284 (with a list of gifts and contemporary prices). The codex was intended for San Vito in Pisa. Size: 560 x 380 mm, the volumes: 180, 206, 238 and 231 ff.
- 17 London, Westminster Abbey. This total, however, only contains the price of 192 folios. The entire codex consists of 341 folios, thus the calculation is not complete. Alexander 1992, 36 and note 27.
- 18 Alexander 1992, 158, note 24. Referring to H.E. Bell, he mentions the difficulties.
- 19 Thus, for example, the *titulus* of the upper right fol. 50 v (= L 86) was damaged when the page was trimmed, and only the stems of the letters can be seen from the last word of the sentence. There were two occasions for trimming the page: when it was first bound and later after the pages were separated and rebound.
- 20 De Hammel 1994, 89.
- 21 Morello wrote about this first in the study accompanying the facsimile edition (Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 15). He was able to discern numbering in quire 10 (fol. 42v, which is not possible based on the facsimile), but quire 14 is mistakenly shown as quire 13 (which is probably a typographical error, fol. 63v). He mentions but does not resolve the numbering problems in quires 12 and 13 (fol. 54v and 56av). The significance of this with respect to the reconstruction of the codex was analyzed above.
- 22 An example of the Roman numbering: fol. 43r: III and fol. 44r: IIII; the letters: fol. 24r: b, fol. 67r: d. In addition to the latter, three horizontal lines can also be discerned, which probably, along with the fourth rule line (cut off) would have rendered clear the fourth place in the folio pair.
- 23 This can largely be discerned in the first seven folios, but not later – perhaps in these later pages they were just lightly marked or the numbering was abandoned (since the writing is not regular everywhere).
- 24 Stirnemann 1990.
- 25 According to Stirnemann this ceases around 1300, but Alexander notes two fifteenth century examples (1992, 59).
- 26 The *Illuminated Chronicle* can also provide an example; my thanks to T. Wehli for informing me.
- 27 Research is divided on the function: all that is certain is that it sets the number of miniatures for the purposes of further planning the work (Stirnemann 1990, 352, note 5) or to aid in determining the price (Alexander 1992, 59).
- 28 Weitzmann 1977, 40; Stones 1990, 327 and 333; Alexander 1992, 4.
- 29 Stones 1990, 327–328.
- 30 Alexander 1992, 60. He mentions as an example the manuscript *Roman de Troie* (Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2571).
- 31 Stones 1990, 332.
- 32 According to Edit Madas. Morello also thinks these (not further specified) notes were made for the *rubricator* (Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 18).
- 33 The differences are as follows: the *tituli* number (and sometimes incorrectly) the scenes, and *quomodo* appears instead of or next to *hic*. Among the most legible examples is scene XIII of St John the Evangelist: fol. 24v (L 44a). The cursive writing reads: “hic sanctus Johannes p(re)sentat unu(m) Juvene(m) Episcopo.” The *titulus*: “XIII. q(uo)m(od)o s(anctu)s Joh(ann)es p(re)sentat un(um) iuvene(m) ep(iscop)o.”
- 34 But it cannot be determined whether the two writers were the same – the different types of writing by the same scribe are difficult to identify. Cf D. Muzerelle’s comment and Stones’ response: Stones 1990, 334.
- 35 Alexander mentions a c. 1395 French example: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, Latin 14643, fol. 269–283v. Alexander 1992, 54.
- 36 L 70a: “quomodo fuit” .
- 37 For example Levárdy 1973, 38.
- 38 Cf. Madas 1996, 370.
- 39 Levárdy 1973, 38
- 40 Kódexek 1986, 105.
- 41 The literature supports the theory that the inscriptions were added later: Wehli 1991, 146, Madas 1992, 97.
- 42 L 40d, 55c, 90c, 103c, 137c, 154c, 156c-d, 160c, 164d.
- 43 L 87b, 88a, 99a, 143a, 163a, 164a.
- 44 L 36d, 58d, 77c, 83a, 132c, 160d.
- 45 L 67c, 102c, 139d.
- 46 L 70a: “quomodo fuit” (the sorcerer healed).
- 47 Harrsen 1949; Levárdy 1973. In Török 1992, 567, note 11, she does not consider it probable that the original *tituli* were written on the reverse side. However, I discovered during my own study of the originals in 1999 that transcriptions of the *tituli* can be seen on the reverse page. I have also checked the accuracy of the transcriptions by Harrsen and Levárdy.
- 48 Levárdy 1973, 57. This will be discussed later.
- 49 Furthermore she felt the spelling of the words *columpna*, *banka*, *muniale*, *uiridarium* was typically Hungarian. Harrsen 1949, 53.
- 50 Levárdy 1973, 38.
- 51 L 56d-57a-b-c-d.
- 52 L 54a-b-c-d.
- 53 L 28d. We find confusion of the Roman numbers in the numbering of the psalms in the Néksei Bible too: vol. I, starting in fol. 328r the inscription reads XXVIII instead of XXXVIII and so on.
- 54 *Quando* appears in 13 cases: L 21b, 21d, 24d, 25a, 26a, 26b, 27a, 27c, 27d, 28a, 29a, 29d, 60b.

- 55 These labels frequently come from the liturgy, and thus for the author this may have been the most natural medium.
- 56 Andrew (L 36a), John (L 41a), Matthew (L 65a), Philip (67c) and Bartholomew (73a). Strangely, James the Greater is omitted – the first images in the cycles of Paul and James the Less are unknown.
- 57 For example L 4c: Mt 14,19-20; L 4d: Jn 8,7; L 5a: Mt 14,31; L 5b: Jn 9,6, etc.
- 58 It appears a total of nine times: Gen 40,22; Num. 25,4; 2 Deut. 21,22; Josh. 8,29 and 10:27 and Esth. 2:23; 6:4; 7,10; 9:13.
- 59 L 15c: “Quomodo dixit S. Thomae: Beatus es qui me vidisti et tetigisti.” Cf. Jn 20,29: “Dixit ei Jesus: Quia vidisti me Thoma, credidisti: beati qui non viderunt, et crediderunt.”
- 60 L 164a. The *Golden Legend* reads: “Hic uxorem primitus habens et filiam, in laicali habitu monasticam uitam ducebat” Graesse, 98, Maggioni, 146; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 87: “At first he was married and had one daughter, but while still a layman led the life of a monk.”
- 61 Blunders such as in article-noun agreement are not rare: for example: “unus principes”, L 141c. Grammatically incorrect sentences are relatively more common. Following Edit Madas, we can note some toward the end of the codex: Giles III., IV., VIII. (L 155c, d, 156d); Remy III (L 162c); Hilary IV (164d). Worth special attention is the inscription accompanying the second image in Peter the Apostle (L 24d), which recalls a statement by Christ, but the sentence structure is faulty (Levárdy also transcribed it incorrectly).
- 62 This inscription in a close variation appears in: L 71b, 83b, 105c, 107a, 111c, 113c, 116d, 118b, 121b, 122d, 154a, 162a, 163d, 164b.
- 63 Similarly formulated: 13d, 53a, 67b, 72d, 75d, 77d, 78b, 78d, 83d, 85d, 87d, 98b, 104b, 108b, 112d, 114d, 116b, 119b, 121d, 131d, 138a, 143d, 165d.
- 64 L 78a: “I. Luce ewangeliste quomodo scribit omnia ewangelia.” L 119c: “I. Augustini quomodo scribebat ewangelia.” L 121a: “I. Jeronimi quomodo scribebat ewangelia.”
- 65 Pl. L 71b: “in episcopum electus”; L 69a: “predicabat populo”; L 72d and 75d, “fuit sepultus”. It appears to be significant that in the inscription accompanying the two, at one time neighboring images we find the expression “sudarium”: L 48d (Morgan 360.16) and L 49a (Vatican, 25r) also use this; however the expressions could have been lifted independently from the *Golden Legend*.
- 66 L 83b: “quomodo fuit electus in summum pontificem.” Here the saint’s role as pope and not his election is captured.
- 67 L 139a: “I. Benedicti. quomodo dyabolus fregit tintinaculum.” Cf. Madas 1996, 370, Ryan 1993, vol. I, 186.
- 68 L 170c: “III. quomodo disputat cum magistris ante regem et postea fuerunt conuersi.” Cf. below, L 50c.
- 69 L 170d: “IIII. quomodo idem fuerunt cremati. et uestibus ipsorum ignis non nocuit.”
- 70 L 42b: “VI. quomodo erat ligatus et percussus.”
- 71 L 80c: “VII. quomodo omnes adorabant eum populi.”
- 72 L 118c: “III. quomodo predicabat populis. et angelus tenebat eum.”
- 73 L 99a: “III. quomodo disputant cum rege. et angelus tenet eos.”
- 74 L 99b: “IIII. quomodo affugabant demones ante regem.”
- 75 L 101d: “IIII. quomodo angeli extraxeunt eum de mare.”
- 76 L 142b: “II. quomodo jacebat cum sorore sua. et occulte surgens posuit se in aquam. ut fornicacio sibi non eueniret.”
- 77 L 36d: “IIII. quomodo ipsum uolebant cremare in carcere. et angelus in forma pueri cum una ampulna aqua plena extinxit ignem.”
- 78 L 139c: “III. quomodo demones corizabant ante ipsum in uno uiridario in forma puellarum.”
- 79 L 50c: “XV. Quomodo ille captus est. et conuersus est ad sanctum Jacobum.” — Cf. L 51a!
- 80 L 105b: “IIII. quomodo resuscitauit unam mortuam.” *Legenda aurea*: “Donatus autem ad sepulchrum uxoris cum eo pergens oratione facta clara uoce dixit: Euphrosina, per spiritum sanctum te adiuro ut dicas nobis ubi talem pecuniam posuisti. Et facta est uox de sepulchro dicens: In ingressu domus mee, ibi eam suffodi. Et euntes eam ibi ut dixerat inuenerunt.” Graesse, 485, Maggioni, 748; Ryan 1993, vol. II, 61.
- 81 L 137a: “XVII. quomodo fuit osculatus cum rege bohemie.”
- 82 L 131b and c: “III. quomodo orabat in ecclesiam et illuminata fuit ecclesia.”
- 83 L 163a-b-c-d. Cf. Graesse, 97, Maggioni 144; Ryan 1993, vol. I, 86. — which is strange because he knows the names of the two children: Latro and Vulpecula.
- 84 L 22b: “VIII. Saltacio puelle herodi.” Cf. Mt 14,6. In fact, he is called usually in modern literature Herod Philip I or Herod II.
- 85 L 114b: “VI. quomodo beata uirgo dicebat uno sacerdoti ut tunicam reciperet sibi banka et portaret s. Thome.”
- 86 L 9a: “Quomodo presentatus est ante Pilatum.” Levárdy interprets the scene in the same way, although it appears that Pilate only shows up on the next page: L 10b.
- 87 L 53d, 55b. The Spanish king, who is not named in the *Golden Legend*, is called Herod in the inscription (L 54b).
- 88 L 56a: “XXXVII. quomodo uenerunt populi orare ad sepulchrum.”
- 89 L 134a: “V. quomodo cremabatur domus bissenorum per exercitum.”
- 90 Donatus: “II. quomodo confitetur s. donatus uno peccata sua” (L 104d). The same words are used in Christopher (surviving in the seventeenth century transcription) in the *titulus*: “Stus Christoforus. Quomodo confitebatur peccata uno heremite” (L 97b).
- 91 L 84a. Cf. L 26a, 51d.
- 92 L 41d: The resurrection of Drusiana; L 122b: Martin resurrects a catechumen.
- 93 L 47c: “Quomodo cum benedictione liberabat omnes a variis infirmitatibus.” This page is among the material in the Morgan Library.
- 94 L 32c: “XI. quomodo est sanacio multorum.”
- 95 L 151b: “VI. quomodo portabant sibi corpus christi cum cruce.” Levárdy also consistently misinterpreted the two types: see Levárdy 1973, the descriptions of images 145, 151 and 156.
- 96 There are examples where the inscription is correct and the image is wrong: a pope is shown beside the king kneeling before the injured Giles, although the legend only mentions a bishop – the *titulus* also mentions the bishop and not a pope. This also shows that the texts were not a source for the miniatures.
- 97 L 156d and 151d. Levárdy misunderstood both, since he ignored the bed in the background. This motif makes it clear, for example, that St Louis is not blessing crusaders but rather rising from his sickbed so he can humbly present himself before the cross.
- 98 L 144b and 157d.
- 99 Obviously the bedroom is where he sewed it when he had time – and thus the Virgin Mary finishes stitching it for him there as well: L 114a.
- 100 But only very rarely weapons of attack: apparently this is not an important attribute of soldiers. We generally only see swords when they are in use, most often during execution scenes, since soldiers played the role of executioner.
- 101 The sources of Jacobus de Voragine are summarized in three tables: Boureau, 1984, 88–91.
- 102 One extreme is represented by J. B. M. Roze (1900), who believed the bishop of Genoa was just a simple copier. In sharp contrast is the view of R. Benz who demonstrated that de Voragine created a unified style in

- the *Golden Legend* from hundreds of different styles found in the sources (1917). For a good summary of the debate with new arguments, see: Fleith 1991, 17–24; cf. Rhein 1995, 21–43.
- 103 On the transformation that accompanies the translation of the text into the visual idiom, see Berliner 1945. Clearly it would be artificial to reformulate the images into texts, and then compare them to the originals. Visual expression had greater freedom than textual, and elements were painted that would have been unacceptable in words. The impact of the images was not primarily intellectual, and what does not work in words may work for the eyes and the emotions. (ibid. 265 ff.)
 - 104 The legend of Emeric offers a close example in the scene of the sinful Conrad, who kneels half-naked before the pope (L 132b).
 - 105 In the legends of Bernard (L 142b), St Paul the Hermit (L 161a), Andrew (L 40d) and Benedict (L 139c); see chapter IV section 2 for more detail.
 - 106 See chapter III, section 3 on the martyr bishops.
 - 107 The night prayers of Emeric (I., III) are known from Ladislav (VI), the identification of the monks with a kiss (Emeric II) finds a parallel in the peace kiss of Ladislav (XVII), scenes of death and burial are more closely related than usual (Emeric IV and Ladislav XVIII and XXI), the procession (Emeric: VI., Ladislav: III) and the miracle at the grave (Emeric VII–VIII., Ladislav XXII–XXIV) appears in both, and there is also a visual analogue to Conrad kneeling before the pope (Emeric VI, Ladislav XV).
 - 108 Scene X and L 140c. The next, related image from the legend of Anthony finds an analogue in the cycle of St Louis of Toulouse (Bd).
 - 109 Francis frees someone from prison in scene XVI. See also the relevant images in James the Greater (L 56c) and Mary Magdalene (L 169c). In Francis XV, Mary Magdalene (L 169a) and James the Greater (61a–d) someone is miraculously resurrected in order to confess.
 - 110 Thus the following words about the *Illuminated Chronicle* are also valid for the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*: “the artist’s adherence to compositional formulas does not prove to be a weakness (which Dercsényi tries to justify) but a strength.” Marosi 1995, 37.
 - 111 The blending of epic scenes with static compositions caught the attention of T. Wehli too: Wehli 1991, 146.
 - 112 In this respect, see the letter by St Gregory the Great (a fundamental text) in a more recent, annotated edition: Schlosser–Végh 1992, Appendice I, no. LVII, 415–416.
 - 113 On the relationship between *imago*, *historia*, and *Andachtsbild*, see: Belting 1981, especially 25 ff. and 69 ff. The functions of *imago* and *historia* were examined in the *Illuminated Chronicle* in: Marosi 1995, 33–38.
 - 114 L 83b (Fabian), 116d (Gregory). This is clearly manifest in the scene of *Cathedra Petri*: L 28a.
 - 115 Bologna, Archiginnasio, Ms. 52. fol. 1. Belting 1981 no. 4, ill. 18, cf. p. 74.
 - 116 L 111d, 113d. For more, see the iconographic analyses of the legends.
 - 117 There are no cases of simply the birth or baptism of the saint being the subject of the image – in every instance a miracle is being presented, which foreshadows the future greatness of the saint.
 - 118 Madas 1996, 370.
 - 119 Cf. the legends of George, Blaise or Lawrence.
 - 120 L 103a–104b: interrogation – refusal to worship idols – imprisonment – repeated refusal to worship an idol – beheading – burial.
 - 121 L 104c–106: two miracles each separate the introductory (early life) and final (martyrdom) sections of the cycle from the center part showing the consecration of the bishop and the baptism. The miracles are distributed proportionately between the lives of deacons and bishops. The first and last scenes contain violent deaths: the former shows the murder of the saint’s parents, and the latter the saint’s martyrdom.
 - 122 Sebastian (L 84–85), Gerhard (L 111–112); the cycles of Blaise (L 88–89) and Thomas Becket (L 113–114), while they have overlaps, also have similar divisions, while in Stanislaw his martyrdom occupies the central four images, which are framed by two images at each end (the ordination of the bishop and a miraculous deed and at the end two posthumous miracles) (L 107–108).
 - 123 We can mention a page of the legend of Lawrence (L 80), Sebastian (L 84), Vincent (L 87) or St Gregory the Great (L 117).
 - 124 The most important opinions have been summarized by MoMT II 1987, 367, on the basis of Levárdy 1964, 1973 and Klaniczay 1976.
 - 125 MoMT II 1987 368. It should be noted that Tünde Wehli was on of the first giving up this romantic theory of Levárdy (Kódexek 1986, 105, Wehli 1991, 147).
 - 126 Kurcz 1988, 210–215.; MoMT II 1987 209. (T. Wehli)
 - 127 Dercsényi 1941, 141. On the relationship of the two cycles, see recently Szakács 2006b.
 - 128 Farmer 1978 207–208.
 - 129 Cf. the frescos of Simone Martini in Assisi. The *Golden Legend* may have served as a starting point naming the saint as *miles* (Graesse, 742, Maggioni, 1138.). See Hoch 1987.
 - 130 The two episodes are within a few pages and perhaps influenced each other.
 - 131 Certainly the legends and the iconographic tradition point to the same direction, however, a positive image of the ruler could also have been created including Constantine, Charlemagne, St Louis or other saint rulers (Emperor Henry II, Wenceslas etc.).
 - 132 *Képes Krónika*, 37 and 140. Cf. Marosi 1995, 38.
 - 133 The persecution of the heretics of Dominic and Peter of Verona have been left out, as well as the anti-arianism of Hilary.
 - 134 Such important scenes are missing as the dream of Innocent III, the papal audience of Francis and the approval of the rules. These are essential elements of the iconography of Francis after the frescos of Assisi were created.
 - 135 According to Harrsen (1949, 36) the codex was intended as a gift to Benedict XII (alias Jacques Fournier, 1334–1342). Note that the cycle of Peter the Apostle is shorter than that of James the Greater, John, Paul and Ladislav. Popes are usually presented in shorter cycles (Fabian: 4, Clement: 4, Sixtus: 6, Sylvester: 6, Gregory: 6, cf. Jerome: 4) while the bishops have regularly longer cycles (James the Less: 8, Blaise: 8, Donatus: 10, Stanislaw: 8, Gerhard: 8, Thomas Becket: 8, Ambrose: 6, Augustine: 6, Martin: 12?, Nicholas: ?, Louis of Toulouse: 12, Brice: 4, Remy: 8, Hilary: 8). Cf. Szakács 1999b.
 - 136 Because the cycle of Louis of Toulouse is so fragmentary we do not know if his refusal of the throne was included, but the surviving material suggests that it was not.
 - 137 L 107c, 114c, 118d, 104c.
 - 138 In Graesse’s edition 17 and a half and 14 pages. In the category of *de sanctis* only Augustine (p. 17) and Paul (p. 16) can compare.
 - 139 Cf. the same scene from a Bohemian manuscript from ca. 1300 (Prague, Knihovna Národního muzea, Nostická sbírka MS c 13. fol 7r, Soukupová 1989 38, fig. 11): Francis stands facing to his father, his genitalia covered by the mantle of the bishop.
 - 140 See the list of popes and bishops in note 136. Monks and friars in the legendary include Benedict, Giles, Anthony the Great, Bernard, Dominic, Francis, Peter of Verona, Louis of Toulouse.
 - 141 These are the cycles of Augustine and Blaise. The cycles of Nicholas and Louis of Toulouse cannot be analyzed from this respect because of their

- fragmented character. In the case of the popes the proportions are not so favorable: four legends include a consecration scene, two do not.
- 142 They can be found among the Church Fathers as well as the members of the ecclesiastic orders (Louis of Anjou as a Franciscan became bishop of Toulouse) and the last group of the confessors (Brice, Remy, Hilary).
- 143 Gerhard: L 111b, Hilary: L 165b, Francis: L 148b.
- 144 Jansen 1995.
- 145 The facsimile edition of the decorated pages: Nekcsei-Biblia 1988. See the studies in the accompanying booklet. Cf. also: Wehli 1992, 219.
- 146 Padua, Biblioteca Capitolare A. 24 and 25. Mrs. L. Gerevich 1957; Wehli 1992, 221. These are among the most ornate within the genre.
- 147 Zagreb, Metropolitana, MR 163. MoMT II 1987, 357. (T. Wehli); Wehli 1992, 218.
- 148 Facsimile editions: *Képes Krónika I-II*, ed. L. Mezey, Budapest: Magyar Helikon 1964; *Képes Krónika, I-II.*, Budapest: Helikon, 1987. Cf. Wehli 1992, 223–224; Marosi 1995, 31–66.
- 149 Cf. MoMT II 1987, 206–209. (T. Wehli)
- 150 Levárdy 1964 and 1973 assumed that the selection of saints is related to the patron saints of the children of the king (Ladislav, Louis, Andrew, Stephen, Elisabeth, Catherine), or the saint celebrated on their birthday (Remy, Eusebius). He also explained Louis of Toulouse and Stanislaw being connected to the dynasty, although the bishop of Cracow had an earlier cult in Hungary, and the mother of Louis of Toulouse was Mary of Hungary. Of course, these saints were favored by the ruler but do not determine necessarily the person of the commissioner.
- 151 Harssen supposed that the codex was created as a diplomatic gift (see below). The circle of the gifted person can be widened easily, e.g. James II of Aragon (1291–1327), whom Charles I of Hungary allied against Robert of Naples, although this does not fit well to the dating of the codex.
- 152 A book of hours painted ca. 1490 in Winchester for children starts with the letters of the alphabet and some basic prayers. The low quality of the miniatures indicate that books intended for children were usually not expensive. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS M.487. Painted Prayers 1997, 12, no.3.
- 153 See the discussion in the chapter on the research history. Dercsényi-Zádor 1980, 108., in connection with Jacob of Piacenza.
- 154 Wehli 1986, 57 and the lecture given on 23 September 1996 at the conference on St Gerhard.
- 155 Károly Róbert emlékezete 1988, 26, 34–36.
- 156 For the person of Coloman see Pór 1889, KMTL 1994, 316, Karácsonyi I, 307.; for his activity as a commissioner: Dercsényi 1941, 66–67., 86. MoMT II 1987, 137, 313, 412–414. However, the legend of St Coloman does not seem to be included which contradicts to this theory.
- 157 For a discussion of relative prices, see: Cahn 1982, 222–226; Alexander 1992, 26–27, 32, 36–38; Eberlein 1995, 258–261. As an example of local costs, in addition to later data, we should mention the remarks on the pawning of the Admont Bible (vol I, fol. 31): Vid of Gutkeled clan first received 27.5 and then 70 marks. He then gave two pieces of property as compensation to the monastery of Csátár. The source is published in: Fejérpataky 1892–93; on the codex, see Wehli 1977.
- 158 It is considered one of the more valuable pieces even in the Vatican library, which contains a wealth of expensive codices, and special permission is required to study it. Not surprisingly it is stored in the library as an art work rather than manuscript, and comes from the collection of the Museo Cristiano established by Pope Benedict XIV (Morello in: Morello–Stamm–Betz 1990, 22.)
- 159 In the *Carmen satiricum*, Nicolaus von Bibra (died after 1307) praises Otto von Sulzo, the *custos* in the bishopric of Samland, because he hired a special guard to watch over the liturgical objects, books and treasures kept next to the church. Eberlein 1995, 275, also mentioned in: Anhang no. 198, 420.
- 160 Eberlein 1995, 275.
- 161 Eberlein 1995, 283.
- 162 On the accumulation of treasures of the House of Anjou, see: MoMT II 1987, 220–232 (É. Kovács). Mention is made of the circulation of metal works and their function as gifts; this is worth some thought from the perspective of luxury codices.
- 163 De Hamel 1994, 48–49.
- 164 Cahn 1982, 45, De Hamel 1994, 48.
- 165 Eberlein 1995, 284–289.
- 166 For comparison: the cost of the execution of the Calci Bible, the late twelfth century work mentioned above, exceeded 640 *sol*, and at the same time Pisa spent 1000 *sol* on the modernization of the fortress of Ripafratta. Cahn 1982, 224.
- 167 Eberlein 1995, 289–290.
- 168 Ross 1993. The legendary: 65–93.
- 169 Stuttgart, Württembergische Landesbibliothek, MSS Fol. 56, 57, 58. Ross 1993, 80 ff; Suevia Sacra 1973. no 175, p. 179–180
- 170 Among the thirteenth century Italian *Golden Legend* manuscripts are three decorated examples in the Bibliothèque nationale. Paris: lat. 5393 (Northern-Italian, late thirteenth – fourteenth century, 1 initial = author portrait); N.a.1.1747 (Central Italian, 1 ornamented initial); lat. 5631 (Southern Italian, early thirteenth – fourteenth century, 5 initials: the death of Mary, birth of Jesus, St. John Chrysostom, All Saints). Cf. Avril–Gousset–Rabel 1984, no. 51, 148, and 199.
- 171 Though even here the quality of the scarcely decorated codices is only average. The videodiscs containing 6000 codices from the Vatican Library include five French *Golden Legends* from the fourteenth century: Vat. lat. 1226: one portrait of the author (1r) and one ornamental initial (1v); Vat. lat. 1227 and 1228: ornamental initials; Reg. lat. 485 (c. 1350, Burgundy): one miniature (James kneels before Mary [8r]); see the note below for the fifth.
- 172 Reg. lat. 534. A total of 198 images. We refer to these figures several times during the iconographic analyses.
- 173 Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ms. latin med. c. 30. One fragment of a bifolium, decorated initials: the martyrdom of St Anastasia and St Stephen. Sandler 1986, cat. no. 63.
- 174 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14034. Cf. Regensburger Buchmalerei 1987 no. 69, p. 88. The manuscript was written by the *scriptor* Rüdiger for the monastery of St. Emmeram in Regensburg. The illustrated page is found on fol. 1v with the Annunciation, the Nativity, Presentation in the temple, Death of Mary.
- 175 This was noticed by previous research, I. Lajos 1982, 120. and MoMT II 1987, 366. (Wehli T.). Later it was connected to the influence of North Italian (Tuscan) fresco and panel painting by Wehli 1991, 146 and note 24 (cf. Wehli 1994). This kind of structure connects the title pages of the Vásári codices to the Hungarian Angevin Legendary the most.
- 176 Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Cod. theol. lat. fol. 485. Weitzmann 1977, 15, 40–41, Cahn 1982, 20–21.
- 177 For example a late fourteenth century *evangeliarium*: Parma, Biblioteca Palatina, MS Palat. gr. 5, with three rows of scenes divided into four images each showing the miracles and passion of Christ (fol. 89v–90r–v). Lazarev 1948 ill. 146–148. Pächt used this codex as an example of the Byzantine influence on Romanesque manuscript illumination: Pächt 1986, 188–189. See also the c. 1322–40 Menologion of Thessalonika (Oxford,

- Bodleian Library, Gr.th.f.1), in which full page feast-cycles (between fol. 1v-6) are followed by saints appearing on pages divided into four, although they are only organized into a cycle in the case of Demetrius (see the analysis of St Demetrius). Hutter 1978, no. 1m 1-33.
- 178 For example the *Golden Haggadah*, London, British Library, Ms Add. 27210, c. 1320., a Catalan work with fourteen full pages of four miniatures per page containing scenes of Creation and the Exodus, all of which precede the text. Kogman-Appel 1997, 451-481.
- 179 Fulda, Hessische Landesbibliothek, Aa 39. Suevia Sacra 1977, no. 189, ill. 178.
- 180 München, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm. 17401. An exception, this composition was used in the codex in addition to the full-page miniatures and the figural initials. Wittelsbach und Bayern I/2, 128-129., no. 157.
- 181 See note 174.
- 182 Berlin, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz, Kunstgewerbemuseum, inv. nr. W 32, fol. 3v: 4 Evangelist, fol. 4v: cycle of Jesus' childhood (Ordering of a Census, Journey into Bethlehem, Birth of Jesus, Annunciation to the shepherds). Kötzsche 1973, 77, no. 31, Abb. 58.
- 183 New York, Public Library, Spencer 2. From the county of York, c. 1304-10. The images are found on fols. 2v-8v. Sandler 1986, cat. no. 36.
- 184 Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS. 9961-2. From the abbey of Peterborough, between 1299-1318. Sandler 1986 cat. no. 40.
- 185 St. Paul im Lavanttal, Cod. XXV/2, 19 and New York, Morgan Library, Ms. M. 302. From the abbey of Ramsay, c. 1300-1310, with themes from the Old and New Testaments. Sandler 1986, cat. no. 41.
- 186 Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Barlow 22. Peterborough, 1321-38. Sandler 1986, cat. no. 91.
- 187 London, British Library, Royal MS. 2.B.VII. London, c. 1310-20. Sandler 1986, cat. no. 56.
- 188 London, British Library, Egerton MS. 1894. c. 1350-75. The model for this may have been much earlier, and there is a possible connection to the Neapolitan Angevins. Sandler 1986, cat. no. 56.
- 189 Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, MS. fr. 178, fol 1r; Paris, 1353; De Hamel 1994, 151.
- 190 Paris, Bibliothèque de Sainte-Geneviève, ms. 777, fol. 316r; Paris, c. 1370; De Hamel 1994, 161.
- 191 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, français 2813, fol 4r; Paris, c. 1375-79: Les Fastes du Gothique 1981, 329-331, no. 284.
- 192 Foleña-Mellini 1962. We should note that in the codex of Rovigo the upper half of fol. 1r is empty (possibly reserved for the title page or dedication page?), while the first two images begin on the lower half of the page: this possibility should be kept in mind in the case of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*.
- 193 For example, Zimelien 1975-76, no. 51: Berlin, Kupferstichkabinett, 78 D 2, South German, c. 1350; no 109: Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Ms. germ. fol. 1362 (9 pages of fragments), Central German, c. 1350-60.
- 194 See Appuhn 1989, 132-133.
- 195 Vat. Reg. lat. 99. Silber 1980, 41. Cf. Wehli 1992, 216-217, Marosi 1995, 32.
- 196 For example, Darmstadt, Hessische Landes- und Hochschulbibliothek, Ms. 2505; c. 1360, the facsimile edition of the images: Appuhn 1989.
- 197 For example, Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Cod. 2554; 1220-30f. A more recent facsimile edition: *Bible moralisée* 1992. In contrast to the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary*, here the first image appears on the 1v of the signature, while in the legendary 1r is painted, and so on - in other words, the outer, more fragile page of the quire was used.
- 198 The illustrated pages at the beginning of an otherwise textual codex recall the English Psalters discussed above. We should also mention that research considers the southern German *Vita et passio Christi* (1330), which is bound together with the Budapest *Biblia pauperum* although made independently, to have had such an arrangement (Budapest, Szépművészeti Múzeum, Grafikai Osztály, No. 37). Starting in the first half of the thirteenth century similarly structured breviaries, psalters, plenaries and other codices are known from the South German territories. *Biblia pauperum* 1988, XVII. (T. Wehli).
- 199 Levárdy 1973, 9: "The legendary was certainly originally accompanied by a textual narrative." Török 1992, 566: "völlig verloren ist der Textteil, der den illuminierten Blättern vorangestellt war."
- 200 For a survey of the codex see Part II chapter 5. Facsimile edition: Bucher 1970.
- 201 Cf. Schmidt 1956.
- 202 Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, français 2090-91-92. Les Fastes du Gothique 1981, 286-287, no. 232.
- 203 As the story progresses the frequency of the illustrations increases: the 178-folio first volume contains fifteen full pages and one half page of illustrations, while the 133-folio second volume contains twenty-three full pages of illustrations, and the 112-folio third volume thirty-four full and two half pages of illustrations.
- 204 Cf. Stones 1990, 322.
- 205 The variations in the size of the legends do not allow for this throughout the entire codex. Occasionally there are attempts to achieve this with the cycles containing six images. This principle is completely ignored in quires 9/10, 15 and 21.
- 206 Marosi 1995, 35.
- 207 Dercsényi 1941, 140.
- 208 Levárdy 1973, 38.
- 209 Schmidt 1956, 47; Marosi 1995, 13-14, 16, 30.
- 210 Silber 1980, 41.
- 211 Appuhn 1989, 133-135.
- 212 We mentioned the copy in the library of Darmstadt above. Edition: Appuhn 1989.
- 213 On this, see the study of Loránd Zentai, in *Biblia pauperum* 1988. The typologically structured books naturally cannot be categorized with the more purely narrative legends.
- 214 Schmidt 1956.
- 215 Cf. Zimelien 1975-76, no. 109: the c. 1350-60 fragment is in Latin and German, and thus could not have been intended exclusively for members of the Church. (Peter Jörg Becker, 153).
- 216 Pešina 1958, 229-247, ill. 122-130; Dvořáková et al. 1964, 32-33, 132-133.
- 217 Schmidt 1956, 48 in connection with the *Liber depictus*, the Velislav Bible and other similar manuscripts.

Appendix A

Tables

Table 14. List of the pages of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary

LEVÁRDY 1973	CODE	LEGEND
3	M 360.1	Jesus
4	M 360.2	Jesus
5	M 360.3	Jesus (3 pictures)
6	M 360.4	Jesus (2 pictures)
7	M 360.5	Jesus
8	M 360.6	Jesus
9	M 360.7	Jesus
10	M 360.8	Jesus
11	M 360.9	Jesus
13	M 360.10	Jesus
14	M 360.11	Jesus
15	M 360.12	Jesus
16	M 360.13	Jesus
17	V 1r	Assumption of the Virgin Mary I-IV
18	V 2v	Assumption of the Virgin Mary V-VIII
19-20	V 3r	Assumption of the Virgin Mary IX-X and John the Baptist I-II
21	V 4v	John the Baptist III-VI
22	V 5r	John the Baptist VII-X
23-24	V 6v	John the Baptist XI-XII and Peter apostle I-II
25	V 7r	Peter apostle III-VI

26	V 8v	Peter apostle VII-X
27	V 9r	Peter apostle XI-XIV
28	V 10v	Peter apostle XV-XVIII
29	V 11r	Peter apostle XIX-ultima
31	E 16933	Paul apostle
32	V 12v	Paul apostle IX-XII
33	V 13r	Paul apostle XIII-XVI
34	V 14v	Paul apostle XVII-XX
35	V 15r	Paul apostle XXI-ultima
36	V 16v	Andrew I-IV
37	V 17r	Andrew V-VIII
38	V 18v	Andrew IX-XII
39	V 19r	Andrew XIII-XVI
40	V 20v	Andrew XVII-ultima
41	V 21r	John the Evangelist I-IV
42	V 22v	John the Evangelist V-VIII
43	V 23r	John the Evangelist XIX [IX]-XII
44	V 24v	John the Evangelist XIII-XVI
45 [46]	M 360.14	John the Evangelist (1 picture)
47	M 360.15	James the Greater
48	M 360.16	James the Greater (2 pictures)
49	V 25r	James the Greater IX-XII

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50	V 26v	James the Greater
51	V 27r	James the Greater
52	V 28v	James the Greater
53	V 29r	James the Greater
54	V 30v	James the Greater
55	V 31r	James the Greater
56	V 32v	James the Greater
57	V 33r	James the Greater
58	V 34v	James the Greater
59	V 35r	James the Greater
60	V 36v	James the Greater
61	V 37r	James the Greater LVII-LX
62	M 360.16	James the Greater (1 picture)
63	M 360.16	James the Greater (1 picture)
64	V 38v	James the Greater LXX-LXXIII (69-72)
65	V 39r	Matthew I-IV
66	V 40v	Matthew V-VIII
67	V 41r	Matthew IX-X and Philip I-II
69	M 360.19	James the Less (3 pictures)
70	V 42v	James the Less
71	M 360.17	Bartholomew
72	M 360.18	Bartholomew
73	M 360.20	Simon and Judas
75	M 360.21	Simon and Judas V-ultima
77	V 43r	Mark V-VIII
78	V 44v	Luke I-ultima / Stephen I-ultima
79	V 45r	Lawrence I-IV
80	V 46v	Lawrence V-VIII
83	V 47r	Fabian I-ultima
84	V 48v	Sebastian I-IV
85	V 49r	Sebastian V-ultima
86	V 50v	Vincent I-IV
87	V 51r	Vincent V-ultima

88	V 52v	Blaise I-IV
89	V 53r	Blaise V-ultima
90	V 54v	George I-IV
91	V 55r	George V-VIII
94	M 360.22	John and Paul / Vitus (3 pictures)
97	M 360.23	Christopher
98	V 56Av	Christopher IX-ultima / Cosmas and Damian I-II
99	V 56r	Cosmas and Damian III-VI
100	V 57v	Cosmas and Damian VII-ultima
101	V 58r	Clement I-IV
102	V 59v	Peter of Verona I-IV
103	V 60r	Sixtus I-IV
104	V 61v	Sixtus V-ultima / Donatus I-II
105	V 62r	Donatus III-VI
106	V 63v	Donatus VII-X
107	V 64r	Stanislaw I-IV
108	V 65v	Stanislaw V-ultima
109	V 66r	Demetrius I-IV
110	V 67v	Demetrius V-VIII
111	V 68r	Gerhard I-IV
112	V 69v	Gerhard V-ultima
113	V 70r	Thomas Becket I-IV
114	V 71v	Thomas Becket V-ultima
115	V 72r	Sylvester I-IV
116	V 73v	Sylvester V-ultima / Gregory I-II
117	M 360.25 (c)	Gregory
118	V 74v	Ambrose I-IV
119	V 75r	Ambrose V-ultima / Augustine I-II
120	E 16931	Augustine
121	V 76r	Jerome I-ultima
122	V 77v	Martin I-IV

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124	M 360.24	Nicholas (1 picture)
131	V 78r	Emeric I-IV
132	V 79v	Emeric V-VIII
133	V 80r	Ladislás I-IV
134	V 81v	Ladislás V-VIII
135	V 82r	Ladislás IX-XII
136	V 83v	Ladislás XIII-XVI
137	V 84r	Ladislás XVII-XX
138	V 85v	Ladislás XXI-ultima
139	V 86r	Benedict I-IV
140 (Vayer- Levárdy 1972)	E 16934	Benedict and Anthony the Great
141	V 87r	Anthony the Great III-VI
142	V 88v	Bernard I-IV
143	V 89r	Bernard V-ultima
144	V 90v	Dominic I-IV
145	M 360.26 (d)	Dominic
(Bauer- Eberhardt)	Louvre	Francis of Assisi
148	E 16932	Francis of Assisi
149	V 91r	Francis of Assisi IX-XII

(Török 1992)	Metropolitan M. 1994.516	Francis of Assisi
151	V 92r	Louis of Toulouse
(Bader-Starr 1986)	Berkeley BANC MS UCB 130: f1300: 37	Louis of Toulouse V-VIII
154	V 93v	Brice I-ultima
155	V 94r	Giles I-IV
156	V 95v	Giles V-VIII
157	V 96r	Alexis I-IV
158	E 16930	Alexis
160	V 97v	Eustace V-ultima
161	V 98r	Paul the Hermit I-ultima
162	V 99v	Remy I-IV
163	V 100r	Remy V-VIII
164	V 101v	Hilary I-IV
165	V 102r	Hilary V-ultima
168	V 103v	Mary Magdalene IX- ultima
169	V 104r	Mary Magdalene XIII- XVI
170	V 105v	Catherine I-IV

Appendix A

Table 15. The original size of the legends

no. of quires	legends	full pages	fragmented pages	missing pages	known images	original number of images
1-2	Jesus Christ	11	2	3+?	49	96?
3	The Virgin Mary	2.5			10	10
3	John the Baptist	2+2x0.5			12	12
3-4	Apostle Peter	5.5			22	22
4-5	<i>Apostle Paul</i>	5		1	20	24
15	Andrew	5			20	20
5-6	<i>John the Evangelist</i>	4	1	1	17	24
6-8	<i>James the Greater</i>	15	3		64	72
8-9	Matthew	2.5			10	10
9/10	Philip	0.5		1??	2	6??
9/10	Simon and Judas	2			8	8
9/10	<i>James the Less</i>	1	1	0?	7	8?
9/10	Bartholomew	2		0?	8	8?
11	<i>Mark</i>	1		1	4	8
11	Luke	0.5			2	2
11	Stephen protomartyr	0.5			2	2
11	Lawrence	2		1 or 2?	8	12-16?
12	Fabian	1			4	4
12	Sebastian	2			8	8
12	Vincent	2			8	8
12	Blaise	2			8	8
12-13	<i>George</i>	2		1?	8	12?
13	<i>John and Paul</i>	0.5		1?	2	6?
13	<i>Vitus</i>		0,5	1	1	6?
13	<i>Christopher</i>	1.5		1	6	10
13-14	Cosmas and Damian	2.5			10	10
14	Clement	1			4	4
14	Peter of Verona	1			4	4
14	Sixtus II	1.5			6	6
14	Donatus	2.5			10	10
15	Stanislaw	2			8	8
15	Demetrius	2			8	8
15	Gerhard	2			8	8

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no. of quires	legends	full pages	fragmented pages	missing pages	known images	original number of images
15	Thomas Becket	2			8	8
16	Sylvester	1.5			6	6
16	Gregory	1.5			6	6
16	Ambrose	1.5			6	6
16	Augustine	1.5			6	6
16	Jerome	1			4	4
16	Martin	1		?	4	12?
17	Nicholas		1	?	1	?
18	Emeric	2			8	8
18	Ladislás	6			24	24
19	Benedict	1.5			6	6
19	Anthony the Great	1.5			6	6
19	Bernard of Clairvaux	2			8	8
19	Dominic	2		0 or 1?	8	12?
20	Francis of Assisi	4			16	16
20	<i>Louis of Toulouse</i>	2		1	8	12
20	Brice	1			4	4
21	Giles	2			8	8
21	Alexis	2			8	8
21	<i>Eustace</i>	1		1	4	8
21	Paul the Hermit	1			4	4
21-22	Remy	2			8	8
22	Hilary	2			8	8
22	<i>Mary Magdalene</i>	2		2	8	16
22-	Catherine of Alexandria	1		?	4	?
total	58 legends	133	9	18 + ?	549	640 + ?

bold the entire legend has survived

italic the original size can be reconstructed with certainty

Appendix A

Table 16. Litany of All Saints, the saints of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary and the Canon saints

Litany of All Saints	Hungarian Angevin Legendary	Canon saints Communicantes:
Trinitas	Jesus Christus	
Beata Maria Virgo	Beata Maria Virgo	Beata Maria Virgo
archangeli		
Johannes Baptista	Johannes Baptista	(see below!)
Josefus		
Petrus	Petrus	Petrus
Paulus	Paulus	Paulus
Andreas	Andreas	Andreas
Jacobus	Johannes	Jacobus
Johannes	Jacobus	Johannes
Thomas		Thomas
Jacobus	Mattheus	Jacobus
Pilippus	Pilippus	Pilippus
Bartholomaeus	Jacobus	Bartholomaeus
Mattheus	Bartholomaeus	Mattheus
Symon	Symon et	Symon et
Judas Thaddaeus	Judas Thaddaeus	Judas Thaddaeus
Matthias		
Barnabas		
Lucas	Marcus	
Marcus	Lucas	
		Linus
		Cletus
		Clemens ↓
		Sixtus ↓
		Cornelius
		Cyprianus
Stephanus	Stepahnus	(see below!)
Laurentius	Laurentius	Laurentius
Vincentius ↓		
Fabianus et	Fabianus	
Sebastianus	Sebastianus	
(see above!)	Vincentius	

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Litany of All Saints	Hungarian Angevin Legendary	Canon saints Communicantes:
	Blasius	
	Georgius	
		Chrysogonus
Johannes et Paulus	Johannes et Paulus	Johannes et Paulus
	Vitus	
	Christophorus	
Cosmas et Daimanus	Cosmas et Daimanus	Cosmas et Daimanus
Gervasius et Protasius		
	Clemens	
	Petrus martir	
	Sixtus	
	Donatus	
	Stanislaus	
	Demetrius	
	Gerhardus	
	Thomas Cantuariensis	
Silvester	Silvester	
Gregorius	Gregorius	
Ambrosius	Ambrosius	
Augustinus	Augustinus	
Hieronymus	Hieronymus	
Martinus	Martinus	
Nicolaus	Nicolaus	
Stephanus rex*		
Ladislav rex*	Emericus	
Emericus*	Ladislav	
Antonius	Benedictus	
Benedictus	Antonius	
Bernardus	Bernardus	
Dominicus	Dominicus	
Franciscus	Franciscus	
	Ludovicus de Toulouse	
	Briccius	
	Aegidius	
	Alexius	

Appendix A

Litany of All Saints	Hungarian Angevin Legendary	Canon saints Communicantes:
	Eustachius	
	Paulus eremita	
	Remigius	
	Hilarius	
Maria Magdalena	Maria Magdalena	<i>Nobis quoque peccatoribus:</i>
		Johannes Baptista ↑
		Stephanus ↑
		Matthias
		Barnabas
		Ignatius
		Alexander
		Marcellus et
		Petrus
		Felicitas
		Perpetua
Agatha		Agatha
Lucia		Lucia
Agnes		Agnes
Caecilia		Caecilia
Catherina	Catherina	
Anastasia		Anastasia
Elisabeth de Hungaria*		

* saints of the Hungarian appendix

TABLES

Table 17. Saints of the *Hungarian Angevin Legendary* in the order of their feasts

order of the codex	saint	feast	chapter no. of the Legenda aurea
6	Andrew	11.30.	II
41	Nicholas	12.06.	III
16	Stephen	12.26.	VIII
7	John the Evangelist	12.27.	IX
34	Thomas Becket	12.29.	XI
35	Sylvester	12.31.	XII
55	Paul the Hermit	01.10 (or 15.)	XV
56	Remy	01.13. / 10.01.	XVI, CLXVII
57	Hilary	01.14.	XVII
46	Anthony the Great	01.17.	XXI
18	Fabian	01.20.	XXII
19	Sebastian	01.20.	XXIII
20	Vincent	01.22.	XXV
21	Blaise	02.03.	XXXVIII
36	Gregory	03.12.	XLVI
45	Benedict	03.21.	XLIX
37	Ambrose	04.04.	LVII
22	George	04.23. (Hungary: 24)	LVIII
14	Mark	04.25.	LIX
28	Peter of Verona	04.29.	LXIII
10	Philip	05.01.	LXV
11?	James the Less	05.01.	LXVII
31	Stanislaw	05.07. (08.)	—
24	Vitus	06.15.	LXXXII
3	John the Baptist	06.24.	LXXXVI
23	John and Paul	06.26.	LXXXVII
44	Ladislás	06.27.	—
4	Peter apostle	06.29. / 02.22.	LXXXIX, XLIV
5	Paul apostle	06.29. (30.)	XC
53	Alexis	07.17.	XCIV
58	Mary Magdalene	07.22.	XCVI
8	James the Greater	07.25.	XCIX
25	Christopher	07.25.	C

Appendix A

order of the codex	saint	feast	chapter no. of the Legenda aurea
48	Dominic	08.04.	CXIII
29	Sixtus	08.06.	CXIV
30	Donatus	08.07.	CXV
17	Lawrence	08.10.	CXVII
2	The Virgin Mary	08.15.	CXIX
50	Louis of Toulouse	08.19.	—
(42)	(King Stephen)	08.20.	—
47	Bernard	08.20.	CXX
12?	Bartholomew	08.24.	CXXIII
38	Augustine	08.28.	CXXIV
52	Giles	09.01.	CXXX
9	Matthew	09.21.	CXL
33	Gerhard	09.24.	—
26	Cosmas and Damian	09.27.	CXLIII
39	Jerome	09.30.	CXLVI
49	Francis	10.04.	CXLIX
15	Luke	10.18.	CLVI
32	Demetrius	10.26	—
13?	Simon and Judas	10.28.	CLIX
54	Eustace	11.02. or 09.20	CLXI
43	Emeric	11.05.	—
40	Martin	11.11.	CLXVI
51	Brice	11.13.	CLXVII
27	Clement	11.23.	CLXX
58	Catherine	11.25.	CLXXII

Table 18. Major centers of the activities and the cults of the saints

	East	Italy	France	other	Central Europe	Hungarian place names	Hungarian church dedication
John the Baptist						62+	174
Peter apostle	Palestine, Antioch	Rome				84	244 + 58
Paul apostle		Rome				31	52 + 58
Andrew	Constantinople	Amalfi				40	126
John the Evangelist	Ephesus, Constantinople					?	106
James the Greater	Jerusalem			Compostella		34	110
Matthew	Ethiopia	Salerno				2	10
Philip	Herapolis	Rome				—	1 + 12
Simon and Judas		Rome				S.: 4	27
James the Less	Jerusalem, Constantinople	Rome				?	12
Bartholomew	Armenia	Rome				2	34
Mark	Alexandria	Venice				4	15
Luke	Constantinople					4	12
Stephen protomartyr	Jerusalem	Rome				2	73
Lawrence		Rome				28	74
Fabian		Rome				1	3 + 8
Sebastian		Rome				= 1	4 + 8
Vincent				Valencia		—	1
Blaise	Sebaste					3	9
George		(Rome)			(Veszprém: skull)	119	333
John and Paul		Rome				—	—
Vitus				Corvey	Prague (Veszprém: finger)	10	24
Christopher	Anatolia	(Rome)	(St.-Denis)			—	—
Cosmas and Damian	Syria	Rome				13	73
Clement		Rome				2	12
Peter of Verona		Milan				—	6
Sixtus II		Rome				—	3
Donatus		Arezzo				—	—
Stanislaw					Cracow	1	7
Demetrius	Thessaloniki				Szávaszentdemeter (Srimška Mitrovica)	20	50
Gerhard					Csanád (Cenad)	—	4
Thomas Becket				Canterbury		(26)	7
Sylvester		Rome				—	—
Gregory		Rome				4	11

Appendix A

	East	Italy	France	other	Central Europe	Hungarian place names	Hungarian church dedication
Ambrose		Milan				1	2
Augustine	Hippo	Pavia				—	1
Jerome	Bethlehem	Rome				—	2
Martin			Tours		Pannonhalma	106	366
Nicholas	Myra	Bari				124	440
Emeric					Székesfehérvár	18	53
Ladislás					Várad (Oradea)	45	147
Benedict		Montecassino	Fleury			21	43
Anthony the Great	Byzantium					4	27
Bernard of Clairvaux			Clairvaux			—	—
Dominic		Bologna			(Székesfehérvár: finger)	5	20
Francis of Assisi		Assisi				—	14
Louis of Toulouse		Naples	Marseilles			—	2
Brice		Pavia	Tours			2	10
Giles			Saint-Gilles		(Somogyvár)	5	29
Alexis	Edessa	Rome				3	7
Eustace		Rome				—	3
Paul the Hermit	Constantinople	Venice			[1381: Buda]	—	—
Remy			Reims			—	1
Hilary			Poitiers			—	—
Mary Magdalene			Vézelay, Aix			5	62
Catherine of Alexandria	Sinai					11	108

Notes: this table indicates the most important places where the saints were active or where their cult flourished most extensively until the 14th century. The center of the cult of the saint is marked with **bold letters**. The last two columns indicate the number of place names in medieval Hungary originating from the name of the saint and the number of churches dedicated to the given saint (11-15th centuries, based on Mező 1996 and 2003). In the cases of Peter and Paul, Philip and James the Less, and Fabian and Sebastian the common dedications are also added.

TABLES

Table 19. The importance of the saints according to the original size of their legend

no.	legend	scenes preserved	original size	Legenda aurea pages
01	Jesus Christ	49	96?	
08	James the Greater	64	72	9
05	Apostle Paul	20	24	16
07	John the Evangelist	17	24	6.5
44	Ladislav	24	24	—
04	Apostle Peter	22	22	11.3
06	Andrew	20	20	9.5
49	Francis of Assisi	16	16	11.6
58	Mary Magdalene	8	16	10
17	Lawrence	8	12-16?	13
03	John the Baptist	12	12	8 + 8.5
50	Louis of Toulouse	8	12	—
48	Dominic	8	12?	17.2
22	George	8	12?	5.5
40	Martin	4	12?	9.7
02	The Virgin Mary	10	10	23
09	Matthew	10	10	5.5
25	Christopher	6	10	4.5
26	Cosmas and Damian	10	10	3
30	Donatus	10	10	2.2
11	Simon and Judas	7	8?	8.5
13	James the Less	8	8?	8.3
12	Bartholomew	8	8	6
14	Mark	4	8	6.5
19	Sebastian	8	8	3
20	Vincent	8	8	3.5
21	Blaise	8	8	2.3
31	Stanislaw	8	8	—
32	Demetrius	8	8	—
33	Gerhard	8	8	—
34	Thomas Becket	8	8	3.2
43	Emeric	8	8	—
47	Bernard of Clairvaux	8	8	11

Appendix A

no.	legend	scenes preserved	original size	Legenda aurea pages
52	Giles	8	8	2.4
53	Alexis	8	8	3.7
54	Eustace	4	8	6
56	Remy	8	8	2
57	Hilary	8	8	2.3
29	Sixtus II	6	6	1.1
35	Sylvester	6	6	9.5
36	Gregory	6	6	12.7
37	Ambrose	6	6	9.5
38	Augustine	6	6	17
45	Benedict	6	6	8.8
46	Anthony the Great	6	6	4
10	Philip	2	6?	1.5
23	John and Paul	2	6?	3
24	Vitus	1	6?	1.7
59	Catherine of Alexandria	4	4+?	8.1
18	Fabian	4	4	0.5
27	Clement	4	4	10.5
28	Peter of Verona	4	4	14
39	Jerome	4	4	5.6
51	Brice	4	4	1.4
55	Paul the Hermit	4	4	1.3
15	Luke	2	2	8.3
16	Stephen protomartyr	2	2	6.3
41	Nicholas	1	?	7.1
58		549	640 + ?	374.6

TABLES

Table 20. The cycles of the legendary in the order of their image-text relation

no.	legend	scenes preserved	original size	Legenda aurea pages	proportion
08	James the Greater	64	72	9	8.7
18	Fabian	4	4	0.5	8
29	Sixtus II	6	6	1.1	5.4
30	Donatus	10	10	2.2	4.5
10	Philip	2	6?	1.5	4
56	Remy	8	8	2	4
07	John the Evangelist	17	24	6.5	3.6
24	Vitus	1	6?	1.7	3.5
57	Hilary	8	8	2.3	3.5
21	Blaise	8	8	2.3	3.4
26	Cosmas and Damian	10	10	3	3.3
52	Giles	8	8	2.4	3.3
55	Paul the Hermit	4	4	1.3	3
51	Brice	4	4	1.4	2.8
19	Sebastian	8	8	3	2.6
34	Thomas Becket	8	8	3.2	2.5
20	Vincent	8	8	3.5	2.3
22	George	8	12?	5.5	2.2
25	Christopher	6	10	4.5	2.2
06	Andrew	20	20	9.5	2.1
53	Alexis	8	8	3.7	2.1
23	John and Paul	2	6?	3	2
09	Matthew	10	10	5.5	1.8
58	Mary Magdalene	8	16	10	1.6
04	Apostle Peter	22	22	11.3	1.5
05	Apostle Paul	20	24	16	1.5
46	Anthony the Great	6	6	4	1.5
49	Francis of Assisi	16	16	11.6	1.4
12	Bartholomew	8	8	6	1.3
54	Eustace	4	8	6	1.3
17	Lawrence	8	12-16?	13	1.2?
40	Martin	4	12?	9.7	1.2?
14	Mark	4	8	6.5	1.2

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no.	legend	scenes preserved	original size	Legenda aurea pages	proportion
11	Simon and Judas	7	8?	8.5	0.9
13	James the Less	8	8?	8.3	0.9
03	John the Baptist	12	12	8 + 8.5	0.7
39	Jerome	4	4	5.6	0.7
45	Benedict	6	6	8.8	0.7
47	Bernard of Clairvaux	8	8	11	0.7
48	Dominic	8	12?	17.2	0.7
35	Sylvester	6	6	9.5	0.6
37	Ambrose	6	6	9.5	0.6
36	Gregory	6	6	12.7	0.5
02	The Virgin Mary	10	10	23	0.4
16	Stephen protomartyr	2	2	6.3	0.3
27	Clement	4	4	10.5	0.3
28	Peter of Verona	4	4	14	0.3
38	Augustine	6	6	17	0.3
15	Luke	2	2	8.3	0.2

not applicable:					
01	Jesus Christ	49	96?		
31	Stanislaw	8	8	—	
32	Demetrius	8	8	—	
33	Gerhard	8	8	—	
41	Nicholas	1	?	7.1	
43	Emeric	8	8	—	
44	Ladislav	24	24	—	
50	Louis of Toulouse	8	12	—	
59	Catherine of Alexandria	4	4+?	8.1	

Table 21. Narrative cycles

A) NARRATIVE WINDOWS IN CHARTRES CATHEDRAL:	
name of the window:	recent no.
Apostles	0
Simon and Judas	1
Andrew	2
Paul	4
James the Greater	5
Charlemagne	7
Sylvester	8
Theodor and Vincent	9
Pantaleon	11
Remigius	12
Stephen, life and translation	13
Nicholas	14
Caranus	15
Margaret and Catherine	16
Savinianus and Potentianus	17
Thomas Becket	18
Martin	20
Julianus	21
Apostle Thomas	23
Zodiaque	28a
Holy Virgin	28b
Crucifixion	28c
Nicholas	29a
Germain of Auxerre	29b
Blessing Christ	29c
Notre Dame de la Belle Verrière and Life of Jesus	30a
Anthony and Paul the Hermit	30b
Madonna	30c
Blaise (lost)	32
Lawrence (lost)	33
The Prodigal Son	35
Apollinaris	36
Tipologic passion	37
Miracles of the Holy Virgin	38
Nicholas	39
Joseph	41
Glory of the Holy Virgin	42
Eustace	43

The good Samaritan	44
Lubin	45
Mary Magdalene	46
Noah	47
John the Evangelist	48
Tree of Jesse	49
Childhood and miracles of Jesus	50
Passion	51
B) BIBLE OF PAMPLONA	
Michael	202r
Martyrdom of John the Evangelist	202v
Burial of John the Evangelist	203r
Annunciation to Zachariah	203v
John the Baptist baptizing	204r
John the Baptist and Herodias	204v
Dance of Salome	205r
Beheading of John the Baptist	205v
Peter and Paul: fall of Simon	206r
Death of Peter	206v
Beheading of Paul	207r
James overcomes the demons	207v
Baptism of Josias	
Beheading of James and Josias	208r
Andrew adoring the cross	
Crucifixion of Andrew	208v
Death of James the Less	209r
Burial of Philipp	
Death of Thomas	209v
Bartholomew and two demons	
Beheading of Bartholomew	210r
Flaying of Bartholomew	
Matthew and two magicians	210v
Beheading of Matthew	
Death of Simon and Judas	211r
Death of Luke	211v
Death of Mark	
Martyrdom of Barnabas	212r
Martyrdom of Matthew	
Stoning of Stephen	212v

Appendix A

Lawrence on the grids	213r
The corpse of Vincent guarded by a raven	213v
Saturnine	214r-v
Drowning of Clement	214v/b
(→ further martyrs)	
Christopher with a tree	219v
Beheading of Christopher	
Julianus	
Martyrdom of Fabian	220v
Martyrdom of Sebastian	
Drowning of Cosmas and Damian	221v
Beheading of John and Paul	223v
Burial alive of Vitus	
Beheading of Donatus	230r
(→ further martyrs)	
Nicholas saves a ship	242v
Martin divides his mantle	
Martin exorcizing	243r
Burial of Martin	
Brice accused of fathership	243r
Brice carries glowing embers	
The baby saves Brice	243v
Tomb of Sylvester	
Benedict resuscitates a child	244r
Benedict jumps into the thorn bush	
Germanus	245r
Pope Gregory administers the poor	
Hilary and to men	245v
Death of Augustine	
Martial, Salvius, Isidor, Dominic of Silos	
Magdalene at the feet of Jesus	247r
Mary of Egypt meets Zosimos	
Beheading of Catherine	234v/b
→ further women saints	

c) LIBER DEPICTUS (CESKY KRUMLOV)
Queen of Heaven
Biblia pauperum
Parables
Wenceslas
Ludmilla
Christopher
Theodore
Vitus
John the Baptist
Giles
Sixtus and Lawrence
Ursula
Procopius
Clement
Mary Magdalene
Legends of the Holy Virgin
Elisabeth
The house of a Jew as the chapel of the Virgin
The possessed an the chaplain
Dream of a hermit
The Holy Virgin and the son of a knight
Judas
Legends of the Holy Virgin
Mary of Egypt
The converted robber
Paul the Hermit
The hermit and the robber
The love of a girl towards child Jesus
Eustace
Ulrich
The seven cardinal sins
The life of the Virgin
Brandanus

(Cycles in **bold** are present in the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.)

TABLES

Table 22. New Testament sources of the life of Jesus

LEVÁRDY	scene	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Actes
L 3a	Jesus and the Samaritan woman				4:5-19	
L 3b	The woman tells the story				4:28-30	
L 3c	Jesus and the royal official				4:46-50	
L 3d	Healing the royal official's son				4:51-53	
L 4a	Anointing of Jesus			7:36-38		
L 4b	Paralytic at Bethesda				5:2-9	
L 4c	Feeding the five thousand	14:15-21	6:35-44	9:12-17	6:5-13	
L 4d	The woman taken in adultery				8:3-11	
L 5a	Walking on water	14:22-31	6:45-52		6:16-21	
L 5b	Jesus heals a blind man				9:1-7	
L 5d	Transfiguration	17:1-6	9:1-7	9:28-36		
L 6c	Healing a man with dropsy			14:1-4		
L 6d	Entry into Jerusalem	21:1-9	11:1-10	19:28-38	12:12-15	
L 7a	Cleansing of the Temple	21:12-13	11:15-17	19:45-46		
L 7b	Dinner in Simon's house	26:6-9	14:3-5		(12:1-8)	
L 7c	Judas agrees with the priests	26:14-16	14:10-11	22:2-6		
L 7d	Washing of the feet				13:4-8	
L 8a	Last Supper: Jesus and John				13:23	
L 8b	The origin of the Eucharist	26:26-28	14:22-24	22:19-20		
L 8c	Mount of Olives	26:36-45	14:32-41	22:39-46		
L 8d	Arrest of Jesus	26:47-52	14:43-52	22:47-51	18:2-12	
L 9a	Jesus in front of Caiaphas	26:57	14:53	22:54	18:24	
L 9b	Peter in the courtyard of the high priest	26:69-72	14:66-71	22:55-60	18:15-26	
L 9c	Caiaphas tiers his robes	26:59-66	14:55-64			
L 9d	The cock crows	26:73-75	14:72	22:60-62	18:27	
L 10a	Suicide of Judas	27:3-5				
L 10b	Pilate washing the hand	27:11-25	15:2-5	23:1-5	18:28-38	
L 10c	Flagellation of Jesus	27:26	15:15		19:1	
L 10d	Crowning with thorns	15:16-19			19:2-3	
L 11a	Jesus and Pilate			23:13-25	19:4-16	
L 11b	Jesus carrying the Cross				19:17	
L 11c	The thieves carrying their crosses			23:32		
L 11d	Simon of Cyrene carries the Cross	27:32	15:21	23:26-27		
L 13a	Casting lots for Jesus' garment	27:35	15:24	23:34	19:23-24	
L 13b	Deposition from the cross		15:46	23:53	19:40	
L 13c	Jesus is covered with a linen cloth	27:59	15:46	23:53	19:40	

Appendix A

LEVÁRDY	scene	Mt	Mk	Lk	Jn	Actes
L 13d	Entombment	27:60-61	15:46-47	23:53-55	19:41-42	
L 14a	Chaining of the Devil					
L 14b	Descent into Limbo					
L 14c	Resurrection					
L 14d	Three Maries at the tomb	28:1-8	16:1-6	24:1-10		
L 15a	Noli me tangere		16:9-11		20:11-17	
L 15b	Jesus appears to his disciples			24:36-40	20:19-23	
L 15c	The incredulity of Thomas				20:24-29	
L 15d	The miraculous draught of fish				21:1-12	
L 16a	Ascension		16:19	24:50-51		1:9-11
L 16b	Pentecost					2:1-4
L 16c	Throne of Mercy					
L 16d	Man of Sorrows					

Table 23. Image cycles of Sts Cosmas and Damian

	LCI	Essen	Hungarian Angevin Legendary	Fra Angelico	Blondeel
birth	A				
baptism	B				
education	C				
the gift of healing	D				
healings	e				
healing of the camel	f				
healing of Palladia	g			V ₁ , M ₁	
break	h				
Jesus calms Cosmas	i				
trial	j	I		V ₂ , M ₂	left pilaster 1
refusal of idolatry					left pilaster 2
twisting			I		
drowning in water	k	I	II	V ₃ , M ₃	middle
an angel saves them		I		V ₃ , M ₃	
the angel leads them to the judge			III		
exorcism			IV	M ₃	right pilaster 1
burning	l	2	V	V ₄ , M ₄	upper frame
torturing					right pilaster 2
crucifixion					right frame 2
stoning	m	3	VI	V ₅ , M ₅	left frame 1
arrowing	n	3	VII	V ₅ , M ₅	middle
beheading	o	4	VIII	V ₆ , M ₆	middle
appearance of the camel	p		IX	M ₇	
entombment	q		X	M ₇	right frame 1
sick people at the tomb	R	(only in the East)			
healing of a peasant	s				
resuscitation of the woman of Malbo	t				
miracle of the black foot	u			V?, M ₈	

Appendix A

Table 24. Written texts related to the scenes of St Francis of Assisi

Miniature	Thomas of Celano	Bonaventure LM	Legenda aurea
I. Meeting the leper	II Cel 9	I.5	23-24
II. Christ appears to him	-	I.5	-
III. Pilgrimage to Rome	II Cel 8	I.6	19
IV. His father is beating him	I Cel 11-12	II.2	30
V. His mother liberates him	I Cel 13	II.3	-
VI. Francis and the bishop	I Cel 14-15, II Cel 12	II.4	(30)
VII. Attacked by robbers	I Cel 16	II.5	37-39
VIII. Washing the lepers' feet	I Cel 17	II.6	-
IX. Self-flagellation and jumping into snow	II Cel 116-117	V.4	97-100
X. Devils attacking in Leo's house	II Cel 119-120	VI.10	106
XI. Stigmatization	I Cel 94-96, III Cel 4	XIII.3	125-126
XII. Miraculous healing in Castile	III Cel 11-13	-	135-145
XIII. Preaching to the birds	I Cel 58	XII.3-4	201-204
XIV. Death of Francis	I Cel 110, II Cel 218	XIV.5-6	247
XV. Resuscitation of the woman of Monte Merano	III Cel 40	Mir. II.1	255-259
XVI. Liberating from prison	III Cel 89 or 88 or 93	Mir.V.1? V.4?	270-274

TABLES

Table 25. Structure of the manuscript with the 17th-century numbering

II	Jesus Christ (continued)					
	M.1	M.2	M.3	M.4	M.5	M.6
III	M.7	M.8	M.9	M.10	M.11	M.12
	M.13	M.14	M.15	M.16	M.17	M.18
IV	V.1a	V.2a	V.3a	V.4a	V.5a	V.6a
	V.7a	V.8a	V.9a	V.10a	V.11a	V.12a
V	V.13a	V.14a	V.15a	V.16a	V.17a	V.18a
	V.19a	V.20a	V.21a	V.22a	V.23a	V.24a
VI	V.25a	V.26a	V.27a	V.28a	V.29a	V.30a
	V.31a	V.32a	V.33a	V.34a	V.35a	V.36a
VII	V.37a	V.38a	V.39a	V.40a	V.41a	V.42a
	V.43a	V.44a	V.45a	V.46a	V.47a	V.48a
VIII	V.49a	V.50a	V.51a	V.52a	V.53a	V.54a
	V.55a	V.56a	V.57a	V.58a	V.59a	V.60a
IX	V.61a	V.62a	V.63a	V.64a	V.65a	V.66a
	V.67a	V.68a	V.69a	V.70a	V.71a	V.72a
X	V.73a	V.74a	V.75a	V.76a	V.77a	V.78a
	V.79a	V.80a	V.81a	V.82a	V.83a	V.84a
XI	V.85a	V.86a	V.87a	V.88a	V.89a	V.90a
	V.91a	V.92a	V.93a	V.94a	V.95a	V.96a
XII	V.97a	V.98a	V.99a	V.100a	V.101a	V.102a
	V.103a	V.104a	V.105a	V.106a	V.107a	V.108a
XIII	V.109a	V.110a	V.111a	V.112a	V.113a	V.114a
	V.115a	V.116a	V.117a	V.118a	V.119a	V.120a
XIV	V.121a	V.122a	V.123a	V.124a	V.125a	V.126a
	V.127a	V.128a	V.129a	V.130a	V.131a	V.132a
XV	V.133a	V.134a	V.135a	V.136a	V.137a	V.138a
	V.139a	V.140a	V.141a	V.142a	V.143a	V.144a
XVI	V.145a	V.146a	V.147a	V.148a	V.149a	V.150a
	V.151a	V.152a	V.153a	V.154a	V.155a	V.156a
XVII	V.157a	V.158a	V.159a	V.160a	V.161a	V.162a
	V.163a	V.164a	V.165a	V.166a	V.167a	V.168a
XVIII	V.169a	V.170a	V.171a	V.172a	V.173a	V.174a
	V.175a	V.176a	V.177a	V.178a	V.179a	V.180a
XIX	V.181a	V.182a	V.183a	V.184a	V.185a	V.186a
	V.187a	V.188a	V.189a	V.190a	V.191a	V.192a
XX	V.193a	V.194a	V.195a	V.196a	V.197a	V.198a
	V.199a	V.200a	V.201a	V.202a	V.203a	V.204a
XXI	V.205a	V.206a	V.207a	V.208a	V.209a	V.210a
	V.211a	V.212a	V.213a	V.214a	V.215a	V.216a
XXII	V.217a	V.218a	V.219a	V.220a	V.221a	V.222a
	V.223a	V.224a	V.225a	V.226a	V.227a	V.228a

Critical Transcription of the *Tituli* of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary

The *tituli* accompanying the images of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary have been preserved in the Vatican portion only. All the pages kept in other collections are fragmented. In the following a transcription of the 424 image of the 106 folios kept in the Vatican Library is provided based on the previous two editions:

1) The facsimile edition of Levárdy 1973 = L

2) The edition of the Belser Verlag, 1990 (Giovanni Morello and Gerd Betz) = B

These two previous transcriptions differ mainly in the following:

	shortened forms	u/v, c/t	upper case/lower case
L	not signed	usually keeps	usually keeps
B	signed	rectifies	rectifies

These cases are indicated only if one of the transcription does not follow its own rules.

The Roman numbers are given by Levárdy following present day practice (e.g. XIV and not XIII).

Additional element of shortened forms are signed with *italics*.

The word “sanctus” (and its versions) is transcribed as it is in the Belser edition (*sanctus*), although c and t are not always clearly differentiable (thus it can be also *sanc-tus*), see e.g. fol.15r (1). Cases when “sanctus” is shortened as “s.” have been preserved as such, quoting in the

footnote the transcription of the Belser edition which always transcribed it as a full word.

In general, the Belser edition is not consequent in signing the shortened forms. These cases have been marked in the footnotes.

Opposed to previous edition, original punctuation has been preserved. A (!) marks if space is missing between two words (usually in + noun).

Smaller letters and signes written above the words have been regarded as a sort of shortening and they are indicated as such (the Belser edition is inconsequent in this respect). Shortened forms not based on Latin letters are indicated in *italics* (the Belser edition does not always regard the shortened “m” at the end of the word as such).

A full word shortened with a sign occurs in two cases. 1) “et” is almost always shortened which is transcribed here without further notification. 2) The name of Christ is usually indicated as “xhs” or “x” which has been transcribed but original form is given in the footnote. If the sign is in lower case the name of Christ is written in the same way. These shortenings have not been indicated in previous publications.

Intentional and unintentional differences of the previous publications cannot be differentiated thus all of them have been noted, including obvious spelling mistakes such as the case of fol. 96r (2) where *pauperibus* has been transcribed as *pau(er)ib(us)* in the Belser edition and *papuperibus* by Levárdy.

Assumption of the Holy Virgin

fol.1r (1) (L 17a)

I. Istoria de assumptione beate uirginis:

fol.1r (2) (L 17b)

II. *quomodo* uenerunt apostoli ad beatam uirginem.

fol.1r (3) (L 17c)

III. *Quomodo*¹ uenerunt omnes domine ad beatam uirginem.

fol.1r (4) (L 17d)

IIII. Assumpcio beate uirginis.

fol.2v (1) (L 18a)

V. *Episcopus iudeorum quomodo* uoluit beatam uirginem eicere de feretro

fol.2v (2) (L 18b)

VI. *quomodo sunt* iudei *qui* ibi fuerunt conuersi.

fol.2v (3) (L 18c)

VII. *quomodo* fuit inuncta *per* puellas:

fol.2v (4) (L 18d)

VIII. *quomodo* fuit posita insepulchrum (!).

fol.3r (1) (L 19a)

IX. Ascensio ipsius beate uirginis.

fol.3r (2) (L 19b)

X. *quomodo* fuit coronacio eius.

Saint John the Baptist

fol.3r (3) (L 20c)

I. *quomodo angelus* annunciauit ad zacariam.

fol.3r (4) (L 20d)

II. Natiuitas.

fol.4v (1) (L 21a)

III. *quomodo* scribebat Zacharias nomen filij² sui

¹ B: Quom(od)o

² L, B: filii

fol.4v (2) (L 21b)

IIII. *quando*³ fuit indeserto (!).

fol.4v (3) (L 21c)

V. Ecce *agnus dei* ecce *qui* tollit peccata mundi.

fol.4v (4) (L 21d)

VI. *quando*⁴ ductus fuit ad herodem

fol.5r (1) (L 22a)

VII. ductus in carcerem.

fol.5r (2) (L 22b)

VIII. Saltacio puelle herodi.

fol.5r (3) (L 22c)

VIII. decollacio *sancti* Iohannis.

fol.5r (4) (L 22d)

X. Caput indisco (!).

fol.6v (1) (L 23a)

XI. *quomodo* presentauit caput matri sue:

fol.6v (2) (L 23b)

XII. *quomodo* positus est insepulchrum (!).

Saint Peter Apostle

fol.6v (3) (L 24c)

I. Istoria *sancti petri*⁵.

fol.6v (4) (L 24d)

II. *quando*⁶ dixit hys⁷ uade et uendatis⁸ omnia que habetis.

fol.7r (1) (L 25a)

III. *quando*⁹ sequebantur eum ceci et claudi.

³ L: Quomodo, B: Q(ua)n(do)

⁴ L: Quomodo, B: Q(ua)n(do)

⁵ L, B: Petri

⁶ L: Quomodo, B: Q(ua)n(do)

⁷ L: yhs, B: hiiis

⁸ L: uendas, B: ve(n)da(ti)s

⁹ L: Quomodo, B: Q(ua)n(do)

fol.7r (2) (L 25b)

III. *quomodo fuerunt apostoli percussi*:

fol.7r (3) (L 25c)

V. *quomodo deducti fuerunt apostoli de carcere per angelos*.

fol.7r (4) (L 25d)

VI. *Quomodo fuerunt percussi et inuestigati*.

fol.8v (1) (L 26a)

VII. *quando sanauit paraliticum*:

fol.8v (2) (L 26b)

VIII. *quando resuscitauit mortuam*.

fol.8v (3) (L 26c)

IX. *quomodo dedit baculum discipulo suo*.

fol.8v (4) (L 26d)

X. *quomodo posuit baculum super mortuum*.

fol.9r (1) (L 27a)

XI. *quando est extractus de carcere*.

fol.9r (2) (L 27b)

XII. *derisio ipsius sancti petri*:

fol.9r (3) (L 27c)

XIII. *quando christus¹⁰ apparuit ei in carcere*

fol.9r (4) (L 27d)

XIII. *quando resuscitauit puerum*:

fol.10v (1) (L 28a)

XV. *quando fuit adoratus in kathedra*:

fol.10v (2) (L 28b)

XVI. *quomodo Symonmagus¹¹ (!) miserat canes super sanctum petrum*.

fol.10v (3) (L 28c)

XVII. *quomodo resuscitauit mortuum. ibidem percussio symonismagi (!)*.

fol.10v (4) (L 28d)

XVIII.¹² *Volacio symonismagi (!)*.

fol.11r (1) (L 29a)

XIX. *quando Symonmagus (!) cecidit infra*.¹³

fol.11r (2) (L 29b)

XX. *quomodo est crucifixus*.

fol.11r (3) (L 29c)

XX. *quomodo*¹⁴ *est depositus de cruce*

fol.11r (4) (L 29d)

Ultima¹⁵ *quando positus est in sepulchrum*.

Saint Paul Apostle

fol.12v (1) (L 32a)

IX. *quomodo fuerunt lacerata uestimenta eorum et percussi*:

fol.12v (2) (L 32b)

X. *quomodo cecidit turris*.

fol.12v (3) (L 32c)

XI. *quomodo est sanatio multorum*:

fol.12v (4) (L 32d)

XII. *quomodo cecidit unus puer de fenestra de predicacione*:

fol.13r (1) (L 33a)

XIII. *quomodo resuscitauit puerum*.

fol.13r (2) (L 33b)

XIII. *quomodo fuit ligatus et percussus*

fol.13r (3) (L 33c)

XV. *quomodo milites trahebant ipsum per collum*.

¹⁰ In the manuscript: xps, L: christus, B: Christus

¹¹ L: Simon magus, B: Symo(n) mag(us)

¹² Corrected from XIII.

¹³ L: in terra, B: infra

¹⁴ L: Quomodo, B: Q(uo)m(od)o

¹⁵ L, B: Ultima

fol.13r (4) (L 33d)
XVI. *Quomodo*¹⁶ fuit flagellatus.

fol.14v (1) (L 34a)
XVII. *quomodo*¹⁷ fuit percussus ad faciem.

fol.14v (2) (L 34b)
XVIII. Deliberatio multorum:

fol.14v (3) (L 34c)
XIX. *quomodo* ductus est ad Neronem.

fol.14v (4) (L 34d)
XX. *quomodo* ductus est per uiam ad decollandum. et una mulier dedit ei pepulum.¹⁸

fol.15r (1) (L 35a)
XXI. *quomodo* fuit decollatus sanctus paulus.

fol.15r (2) (L 35b)
XXII. *quomodo* fuerunt coronati petrus et paulus per angelos. et restitutio pepuli mulieri.

fol.15r (3) (L 35c)
XXIII. *quomodo* mulier ostendebat pepulum¹⁹ uniuerso populo.

fol.15r (4) (L 35d)
Ultima *quomodo* apparuit post decollacionem sanctus paulus Neroni:

Saint Andrew Apostle

fol.16v (1) (L 36a)
I. Istoria²⁰ de s.²¹ andrea *quomodo* ipsum deus benedixit.

fol.16v (2) (L 36b)
II. *quomodo* fuit extractus de carcere.

fol.16v (3) (L 36c)
III. *quomodo* fuit percussus.

fol.16v (4) (L 36d)
IIII. *quomodo* ipsum uolebant cremare in carcere (!). et angelus informa (!) pueri cum una ampulna aqua plena extinxit ignem.

fol.17r (1) (L 37a)
V. *quomodo* mater²² accusabat filium de fornicacione ante iudicem.

fol.17r (2) (L 37b)
VI. *quomodo* puer erat proiectus in aquam (!) in sacco:

fol.17r (3) (L 37c)
VII. *quomodo* puer fuit extractus de aqua: et mater eius interfecta est per angelum:

fol.17r (4) (L 37d)
VIII. *quomodo* eiecit demones qui interficiebant²³ homines.

fol.18v (1) (L 38a)
XIX. (!) *quomodo* demones in forma canum deuorabant homines.

fol.18v (2) (L 38b)
X. *quomodo* resuscitauit unum ex interfectis (!).

fol.18v (3) (L 38c)
XI. *quomodo* ipsi demones submergebant homines in mare.

fol.18v (4) (L 38d)
XII. *quomodo* exsuscitauit unum ex submersis.

fol.19r (1) (L 39a)
XIII. *quomodo* baptizau[it] quendam reginam.

fol.19r (2) (L 39b)
XIIII. Disputabat²⁴ ante ydolas.

16 L: quomodo (as consequently on this page and the previous one), B: Quom(odo) (as usually)

17 L: Quomodo (as on the whole page), B: Q(uo)m(odo) (as usually)

18 L, B: pepulum

19 The word is corrected. L: peplum, B: pep(u)lum

20 L: Istoria, B: Historia

21 L: s., B: s(ancto)

22 L: mater, B: mate(r)

23 L: interficiebant, B: inte(r)ficieba(n)t

24 L: disputabat, B: Disputabat

fol.19r (3) (L 39c)
XV. *quomodo* ponebant²⁵ ipsum incarcerationem (!)

fol.19r (4) (L 39d)
XVI. *quomodo* eum flagellabant.

fol.20v (1) (L 40a)
XVII. *quomodo* adorabat sanctam crucem.

fol.20v (2) (L 40b)
XVIII. *quomodo* posuerunt eum supra crucem.

fol.20v (3) (L 40c)
XIX. *quomodo* erat depositus in sepulchrum.

fol.20v (4) (L 40d)
Ultima. *quomodo* apparuit se episcopo infoma²⁶ (!) peregrini.

Saint John the Evangelist

fol.21r (1) (L 41a)
I. Istoria de sancto Iohanne²⁷ ewangelista. *quomodo* erat inoleo (!).

fol.21r (2) (L 41b)
II. *quomodo* apparuit ei angelus insompnis (!).

fol.21r (3) (L 41c)
III. *quomodo* uenerunt populi obuiam sibi inportu (!).

fol.21r (4) (L 41d)
III. *quomodo* curauit unam infirmam.

fol.22v (1) (L 42a)
V. *quomodo* resuscitauit unu[m] puerum mortuum.

fol.22v (2) (L 42b)
VI. *quomodo* erat ligatus et percussus

fol.22v (3) (L 42c)
VII. *quomodo* per orationes²⁸ suas fracte sunt ydole et templum.

25 L: coneabant, B: poneba(n)t

26 I.e. forma, L: foma (!), B: forma

27 I and J are not differentiated in the manuscript. L: Johanne, B: Ioh(ann)e (but written with J in the following!)

28 L: oraciones, B: or(at)iones

fol.22v (4) (L 42d)
VIII. *quomodo* Bibebat²⁹ uenenum

fol.23r (1) (L 43a)
XIX (!)³⁰ *quomodo* sanctus Iohannes dat tunicam aristedemo.³¹

fol.23r (2) (L 43b)
X. *quomodo* ponit tunicam super³² mortuos.

fol.23r (3) (L 43c)
XI. *quomodo* sunt liberati et conuersi cum aristedemo.

fol.23r (4) (L 43d)
XII. *quomodo* aristodemus baptizatur cum tota natione

fol.24v (1) (L 44a)
XIII. *quomodo* sanctus Iohannes presentat unum iuuenem³³ episcopo.

fol.24v (2) (L 44b)
XIII. *quomodo* petit et non inuenit illum iuuenem.

fol.24v (3) (L 44c)
XV. *quomodo* sanctus Iohannes equitat post iuuenem

fol.24v (4) (L 44d)
XVI. *quomodo* illum Iuuenem³⁴ peruenerat.

Saint James the Greater

fol.25r (1) (L 49a)
IX. *quomodo* puer dat sudarium in carcerem

fol.25r (2) (L 49b)
X. *quomodo* ille de carcere³⁵ est liberatus:

fol.25r (3) (L 49c)
XI. *quomodo* illeidem³⁶ orat sanctum Iacobum.

29 L, B: bibebat

30 Correctly: IX L: IX., B: XIX(!).

31 L: aristedemo, B: Aristodemo

32 L: supra, B: sup(ra)

33 L: iuuenem, B: iuvene(m) – as below

34 L: iuuenem, B: iuvene(m)

35 B: car(ce)re

36 L: ille idem, B: illeide(m)

fol.25r (4) (L 49d)
 XII. *quomodo* unus princeps demonibus³⁷ preepit capere sanctum Iacobum.

fol.26v (1) (L 50a)
 XIII. *quomodo* sanctus Iacobus precipiet demonibus capere.

fol.26v (2) (L 50b)
 XIII. *quomodo* captus est³⁸ per demones illeidem

fol.26v (3) (L 50c)
 XV. *Quomodo* ille captus est. et conuersus est ad sanctum Iacobum.³⁹

fol.26v (4) (L 50d)
 XVI. *quomodo* illeidem libros demonicales omnes proiecit in mare.

fol.27r (1) (L 51a)
 XVII. *quomodo* ille post conuersionem osculauit pedes⁴⁰ sancti Iacobi

fol.27r (2) (L 51b)
 XVIII *quomodo* aliqui multi conuersi erant sancto Iacobo.⁴¹ aliqui autem deridebant ipsum.

fol.27r (3) (L 51c)
 XIX. *quomodo* diffinitus est iam⁴² ad decollandvm⁴³ et est captus et ligatus et iam ducitur:

fol.27r (4) (L 51d)
 XX. *quomodo* ducitur in uia et ducto ipso in uia resanauit quemdam⁴⁴ paraliticum.

fol.28v (1) (L 52a)
 XXI. *quomodo* scriba conuersus est ad sanctum Iacobum.

fol.28v (2) (L 52b)
 XXII. *quomodo* scriba captus⁴⁵ est cum sancto Iacobo.

fol.28v (3) (L 52c)
 XXIII. *quomodo* sanctus Iacobus baptizat eum.⁴⁶

fol.28v (4) (L 52d)
 XXIII^{or.} ⁴⁷ Decollacio⁴⁸ sancti Iacobi cum scriba.

fol.29r (1) (L 53a)
 XXV. *quomodo* est sepultus sanctus Iacobus

fol.29r (2) (L 53b)
 XXVI. *quomodo* posuerunt sepulchrum in naua (!).

fol.29r (3) (L 53c)
 X.XVII.⁴⁹ *quomodo* posuerunt extra sepulchrum de naue.

fol.29r (4) (L 53d)
 XXVIII. *quomodo* miserunt nuncium ad Luppam⁵⁰

fol.30v (1) (L 54a)
 XXIX. *quomodo* regina⁵¹ mittit discipulos⁵² ad herodem.⁵³

fol.30v (2) (L 54b)
 XXX. *quomodo* uenerunt ad herodem.⁵⁴

fol.30v (3) (L 54c)
 XXXI. *quomodo* sunt ducti discipuli⁵⁵ in carcerem

fol.30v (4) (L 54d)
 XXXII. *quomodo* sunt extracti per angelum.

fol.31r (1) (L 55a)
 XXXIII. *quomodo* pons est fractus et sunt submersi.

37 B: demoni(bus)
 38 B: est
 39 L: Iacobum, B: Iacobi(m) - cf. above fol. 26v (1): B transcribes with J although I and J are written identically.
 40 L: pedem, B: pede(m)
 41 L: Iacobo, B: Iacobo (cf. above)
 42 L omits, B keeps.
 43 L: decollandum, B: decolla(n)du(m); "v" is at the end of the row which may have influenced the actual form.
 44 L: quemdam, B: que(n)da(m)

45 L: captus, B: captu(m)
 46 L: eum, B: eu(m) cf. above: fol 27r (3)
 47 Corrected L: XXIV, B: XXIII
 48 L: decollacio, B: D(e)collatio
 49 A period between the two "X" indicates that it has been corrected from XVII.
 50 L: luppam, B: Luppam
 51 L: regina, B: reg(in)a
 52 L, B: discipulos
 53 L: herodem, B: Herodem
 54 L: Herodem (noha a "h" ugyanolyan, mint az előzőnél)
 55 L: discipuli, B: discip(uli)

fol.31r (2) (L 55b)
 XXXIII. *quomodo* stant ante Lupam⁵⁶ et multi sunt
 conuersi.

fol.31r (3) (L 55c)
 XXXV. *quomodo* interfecerunt draconem per signum⁵⁷ +.

fol.31r (4) (L 55d)
 XXXVI. hic⁵⁸ ducitur corpus sancti Iacobi in curru.⁵⁹

fol.32v (1) (L 56a)
 XXXVII *quomodo* uenerunt populi orare ad sepulchrum.

fol.32v (2) (L 56b)
 XXXVIII. *quomodo* episcopus consecrat ecclesiam.

fol.32v (3) (L 56c)
 XXXVIII. *quomodo* extraxit unum de carcere.⁶⁰

fol.32v (4) (L 56d)
 LX.⁶¹ *quomodo* unus registrauit⁶² peccata et ostendit
 episcopo.

fol.33r (1) (L 57a)
 LXI. *quomodo* sanctus Iacobus⁶³ absoluit⁶⁴ eum a peccato.

fol.33r (2) (L 57b)
 LXII. *quomodo* sanctus Iacobus portat defunctum cum
 socio.⁶⁵

fol.33r (3) (L 57c)
 LXIII. *quomodo* innocens deponitur uiuus⁶⁶ de patibulo.

fol.33r (4) (L 57d)
 LXIII. *quomodo* hospes accusator⁶⁷ est suspensus.

fol.34v (1) (L 58a)
 LXV. *quomodo* unus dyabolus decepit peregrinum⁶⁸ et
 seipsum interfecit

fol.34v (2) (L 58b)
 LXVI. *quomodo* peregrinus interfectus iudicabatur⁶⁹ ante
 iudicem. diabolus cum eo⁷⁰

fol.34v (3) (L 58c)
 LXVII. *quomodo* peregrinus narrabat populo sua mirabilia

fol.34v (4) (L 58d)
 LXVIII. *quomodo* beata uirgo et sanctus Iacobus
 receperunt unam animam⁷¹ a dyabolis.

fol.35r (1) (L 59a)
 XLIX. *quomodo* illam animam beata uirgo susscitauit⁷²
 cum sancto Iacobo.

fol.35r (2) (L 59b)
 L. *quomodo* unus ibat cum uxore cum⁷³ filiis ad limina
 sancti Iacobi

fol.35r (3) (L 59c)
 LI. *quomodo* fuit mortua inuia (!) uxor illius.

fol.35r (4) (L 59d)
 LII. *quomodo* sanctus Iacobus dederat[t]⁷⁴ unum asinum
 uiro suo

fol.36v (1) (L 60a)
 LIII. *quomodo* peruenerunt ad aram sancti Iacobi

fol.36v (2) (L 60b)
 LIII. *quomodo* unus fuit captus quando ibat ad sanctum
 Iacobum.⁷⁵

56 L: lupam, B: Lupa(m)
 57 L: signum, B: signu(m)
 58 L: hic, B: Hic
 59 L: curru, B: c(ar)ru. Cf. fol. 69v (3) and fol 84r (3): in both cases the word
 is definitely *currus*.
 60 B: carc(er)e. Cf. fol. 43r (1)
 61 Recto: XL. L corrects as XL, B as LX (!).
 62 L: registravit, B: registr(a)vit
 63 L: Iacobus, B: Jacobu(s)
 64 L, B: absoluit
 65 L: sacco, B: s(a)cco
 66 L, B: vivus. One leg of the letters before “s” is missing.
 67 L: accusatus, B: accusato(r)

68 B: p(er)egrinu(m)
 69 L: iudicabatur, B: indicabatur
 70 B: cu(m)eo
 71 L: aliam, B: a(n)i(m)am
 72 L, B: suscitatuit. The duplication of the “s” is probably the consequence of
 the hyphenation: : sus/scitauit
 73 B: cum
 74 In the manuscript: dederat. L, B: dederat
 75 B: Jaco(bum)

fol.36v (3) (L 60c)

LV. *quomodo* turris⁷⁶ cecidit in terram et exiuit de carcere.⁷⁷

fol.36v (4) (L 60d)

LVI. *quomodo* sanctus Iacobus ducit ipsum⁷⁸ uias.⁷⁹

fol.37r (1) (L 61a)

LVII. *quomodo* tres milites uadunt ad *sanctum* Iacobum. et unus portat sacculum mulieris⁸⁰ fatigate.⁸¹

fol.37r (2) (L 61b)

LVIII. *quomodo* idem miles unum fessum accepit supra equum⁸² (!).

fol.37r (3) (L 61c)

LIX. *quomodo* idem miles infirmatur.

fol.37r (4) (L 61d)

LX. *quomodo* miles ille confitetur.

fol.38v (1) (L 64a)

LXX.⁸³ *quomodo* unus est false accusatus.

fol.38v (2) (L 64b)

LXXI. *quomodo* idem tractus est *super*⁸⁴ cauda equi.

fol.38v (3) (L 64c)

LXXII. *quomodo* hic positus est in ignem et exiuit sine lesione.

fol.38v (4) (L 64d)

LXXIII. *quomodo* hic firmat se populo nullam habuisse lesionem.

Saint Matthew Apostle

fol.39r (1) (L 65a)

I. hystoria de *sancto* Ma.⁸⁵ *quomodo* disputabat cum phariseis.

fol.39r (2) (L 65b)

II. *quomodo* duxerunt⁸⁶ sibi draconem.

fol.39r (3) (L 65c)

III. *quomodo* duxerunt⁸⁷ sibi duos dracones et exierunt demones de eis.

fol.39r (4) (L 65d)

IIII. *quomodo*⁸⁸ predicat populo.

fol.40v (1) (L 66a)

V. *quomodo* unus erat mortuus et angeli reportant sibi animam de celo.

fol.40v (2) (L 66b)

VI. *quomodo* resuscitauit ipsum.

fol.40v (3) (L 66c)

VII. *quomodo* *populus* dabat sibi coronas et munera et noluit accipere.

fol.40v (4) (L 66d)

VIII. *quomodo* Baptizatur⁸⁹ rex.

fol.41r (1) (L 67a)

IX. *quomodo* *interfectus*⁹⁰ est ante *aram*.

fol.41r (2) (L 67b)

X. et ultima *quomodo* est sepultus.

76 B: turris

77 B: carc(ere)

78 B: ip(sum)

79 L: in vias, B: nincs "in"

80 B: mu(lie)ris

81 L: fatide [!], B: fati(de)

82 L: equum, B: equm

83 Correctly: LXIX. L: LXIX, B: LXX (!). Similarly in the next three cases.

84 B: s(up)er

85 Evidently: Mattheo. L: ma (!), B: Ma(ttheo)

86 B: duxerunt

87 L: duxerit, B: duxer(un)t

88 B: Q(u)om(od)o

89 L, B: baptizatur

90 B: i(n)terfect(us)

Saint Philip Apostle

fol.41r (3) (L 67c)

I. Istoria *sancti* philippi *quomodo* predicat *populis* et fuit *incarcerem*⁹¹ (!) *deductus*.

fol.41r (4) (L 67d)

II. *quomodo* draco *interficiebat*⁹² *populos*.**Saint Simon and Judas Apostles**

fol.42v (1) (L 70a)

V. *quomodo* fuit

fol.42v (2) (L 70b)

VI. *quomodo* unus clericus accusatus fuit *per mulierem*

fol.42v (3) (L 70c)

VII. *quomodo* fuerunt interfecti

fol.42v (4) (L 70d)

Ultima *quomodo* sunt sepulti**Saint Mark Evangelist**

fol.43r (1) (L 77a)

V. *quomodo* christus⁹³ apparuit sibi *in carcere*.

fol.43r (2) (L 77b)

VI. *quomodo* fuit lapidatus et interfectus

fol.43r (3) (L 77c)

VII. *quomodo* comburrebant⁹⁴ corpus eius. et ibidem tormentatores *per grandines* de celo sunt interfecti.

fol.43r (4) (L 77d)

VIII. *quomodo* fuit sepultus.**Saint Luke Evangelist**

fol.44v (1) (L 78a)

I. Luce *ewangeliste*⁹⁵ *quomodo* scribit *omnia ewangelia*.

fol.44v (2) (L 78b)

Ultima *quomodo* fuit sepultus.**Saint Stephen Protomartyr**

fol.44v (3) (L 78c)

I. de *sancto* Stephano⁹⁶ *prothomartyre quomodo* est lapidatus et interfectus.

fol.44v (4) (L 78d)

Ultima *quomodo* fuit sepultus.**Saint Lawrence**

fol.45r (1) (L 79a)

I. de. s.⁹⁷ laurencio *quomodo* est captus et ductus ad regem.

fol.45r (2) (L 79b)

II. *quomodo* predicat⁹⁸ uni et est conuersus.

fol.45r (3) (L 79c)

III. *quomodo* est captus iterato et ductus *in carcere*.

fol.45r (4) (L 79d)

III. *quomodo*⁹⁹ baptizatus est unus *in carcere*.

fol.46v (1) (L 80a)

V. *quomodo* baptizat illum idem¹⁰⁰ conuersum.

fol.46v (2) (L 80b)

VI. *quomodo* fuit captus iterum¹⁰¹ et ductus ante regem.

91 B: carcer(em)

92 L: interficiebat, B: i(n)t(er) ficiebat

93 In the manuscript: xps, L: christus, B: Christus. Cf. fol. 9r (3)

94 L: comburebant, B: c(om)burreba(n)t

95 L: evangeliste, B: ew(angelis)te

96 B: Steph(an)o

97 B: s(ancto)

98 B: predicat

99 B: Q(uo)m(odo)

100 B: illu(m)idem

101 L: idem, B: iter(um)

fol.46v (3) (L 80c)

VII. *quomodo* omnes adorabant eum *populi*.¹⁰²

fol.46v (4) (L 80d)

VIII. *quomodo* fuit captus et ductus ante regem. et unus puer apparuit cum uno sudario in manu

Saint Fabian

fol.47r (1) (L 83a)

I. de *sancto* fabiano *quomodo*¹⁰³ ipse iuerat¹⁰⁴ ad unu[m] mortuum¹⁰⁵ papam. et ibidem¹⁰⁶ apparuit sibi columba de celo

fol.47r (2) (L 83b)

II. *quomodo* fuit electus in summum¹⁰⁷ pontificem.

fol.47r (3) (L 83c)

III. *quomodo* fuit decollatus atque mortuus.¹⁰⁸

fol.47r (4) (L 83d)

Vltima *quomodo* fuit sepultus

Saint Sebastian

fol.48v (1) (L 84a)

I. de *sancto* Sebastiano *quomodo* resanauit¹⁰⁹ paraliticum.¹¹⁰

fol.48v (2) (L 84b)

II. *quomodo* resanauit duos infirmos:

fol.48v (3) (L 84c)

III. *quomodo*¹¹¹ fregebat omnes ydolas.

fol.48v (4) (L 84d)

IIII. *quomodo*¹¹² baptizauit regem cum uxore et filia:

fol.49r (1) (L 85a)

V. *quomodo* fuit sagitatus

fol.49r (2) (L 85b)

VI. *quomodo* proiectus¹¹³ in priuatam.

fol.49r (3) (L 85c)

VII. *quomodo* apparuit¹¹⁴ se *sancte* lucie¹¹⁵ ut sepeliretur corpus eius.

fol.49r (4) (L 85d)

Vltima *quomodo* fuit sepultus

Saint Vincent

fol.50v (1) (L 86a)

I. de s.¹¹⁶ Vincencio¹¹⁷ *quomodo* fuit captus et percussus.

fol.50v (2) (L 86b)

II. *quomodo*¹¹⁸ fuit ligatus ad columpnam et¹¹⁹ cum faucibus

fol.50v (3) (L 86c)

III. *quomodo*¹²⁰ erat positus super craticulam in¹²¹ ignem¹²² et percussus et quod omnes uiscera exiebant de corpore.

fol.50v (4) (L 86d)

IIII. *quomodo* christus¹²³ apparuit¹²⁴ sibi in carcere¹²⁵ cum angelis¹²⁶ et custodes eius fuerunt conuersi:

112 In the manuscript: "q", L: quomodo, B: Q(uando).

113 B: proiectus

114 B: app(a)ruit

115 B: lucie (unusually)

116 B: s(ancto)

117 B: V(in)ce(n)cio

118 B: Q(uo)m(odo)

119 L: "et" is missing

120 B: Q(uand)o (although identical with the previous one)

121 B: in

122 B: ignem

123 In the manuscript: x. L: christus, B: Christus

124 B: app(aruit)

125 B: car(ce)re vö. fol. 32v (3) és fol. 43r (1)!

126 B: angeli(s)

102 B: p(op)(u)li

103 B: Q(u)om(od)o

104 Two legs more in the manuscript: iuuerat? L: iuerat, B: iverat

105 B: mortuum

106 B: ibidem

107 B: summu(m)

108 B: m(or)tuu(s)

109 B: resanavi(t)

110 B: p(ar)aliticum

111 L: quamodo, B: Q(uo)m(odo)

fol.51r (1) (L 87a)

V. *quomodo*¹²⁷ positus est in bono lecto. et ibi mortuus est.

fol.51r (2) (L 87b)

VI. *quomodo*¹²⁸ corpus eius portauerunt in campum ut deuoraretur.

fol.51r (3) (L 87c)

VII. *quomodo*¹²⁹ fuit ligata macina una ad collum¹³⁰ eius et proiectus in mare

fol.51r (4) (L 87d)

Vltima *quomodo*¹³¹ fuit sepultus:**Saint Blaise**

fol.52v (1) (L 88a)

I. de s.¹³² Blasio *quomodo omnes fere portabant sibi*¹³³ uictualia.

fol.52v (2) (L 88b)

II. *quomodo* sanauit unum puerum a spina in gutture.

fol.52v (3) (L 88c)

III. *quomodo* unus lupus arripuerat unum porcellum¹³⁴ et reportauit.

fol.52v (4) (L 88d)

IIII. *quomodo* fuit tractus per pectines ferreos.

fol.53r (1) (L 89a)

V. *quomodo* fuerunt septem puelle tracte per pectines ferreos et lac de corporibus ipsarum exiebant¹³⁵.

fol.53r (2) (L 89b)

VI. *quomodo* fuerunt posite in ignem et exierunt postea omnes illese.

fol.53r (3) (L 89c)

VII. *quomodo* fuerunt omnes decollate.

fol.53r (4) (L 89d)

Vltima¹³⁶ *quomodo* fuit decollatus sanctus¹³⁷ blasius**Szent George**

fol.54v (1) (L 90a)

I. de sancto Georgio. *quomodo* interfecit draconem.

fol.54v (2) (L 90b)

II. *quomodo* baptizauit unum regem cum uxore et filiis.

fol.54v (3) (L 90c)

III. *quomodo* cum fauce ardente comburrebant¹³⁸ corpus eius.

fol.54v (4) (L 90d)

IIII. *quomodo* bibebat venenum¹³⁹

fol.55r (1) (L 91a)

V. *quomodo* fuit decollatus unus magus

fol.55r (2) (L 91b)

VI. *quomodo* angelus¹⁴⁰ fregebat rotas.

fol.55r (3) (L 91c)

VII. *quomodo* fuit positus in unam patenam.

fol.55r (4) (L 91d)

VIII. *quomodo* comburrebantur¹⁴¹ ydola de celo cum sacerdotibus et militibus......
127 B: Q(uando)

128 B: Q(uando)

129 B: Q(uando)

130 B: collum

131 B: Q(uo)m(od)o

132 B: s(ancto)

133 B: s(ib)i

134 B: porcellu(m)

135 L: exiebat, B: exieba(n)t

.....
136 B: Ultima

137 B: s(an)c(t)us

138 B: c(om)burrebant

139 L: uenenum

140 Corrected. B: ang(e)l(us)

141 B: c(om)burreb(an)t(ur)

Saint Christopher

fol.56Av (1) (L 98a)
IX. *quomodo* fuit decollatus.

fol.56Av (2) (L 98b)
Ultima *quomodo* est sepultus.

Saint Cosmas and Damian

fol.56Av (3) (L 98c)
I. Cosme et Damiani *quomodo* percuciebant ipsos.

fol.56Av (4) (L 98d)
II. *quomodo* fuerunt proiecti in mare.

fol.56r (1) (L 99a)
III. *quomodo* disputant cum rege. et angelus tenet eos

fol.56r (2) (L 99b)
III. *quomodo* affugabant¹⁴² demones¹⁴³ ante¹⁴⁴ regem.

fol.56r (3) (L 99c)
V *quomodo* incendebantur in igne. et ignis cremabat illos
incenditores solos.

fol.56r (4) (L 99d)
VI. *quomodo* fuerunt lapidati. et lapidatores fuerunt
interfecti *per* lapidibus ipsorum.

fol.57v (1) (L 100a)
VII. *quomodo* fuerunt suspensi cum *tribus* iuuenibus

fol.57v (2) (L 100b)
VIII. *quomodo* fuerunt interfecti.

fol.57v (3) (L 100c)
IX. *quomodo* camellus ruit. et ostendit eis locum sepulture.

fol.57v (4) (L 100d)
Ultima *quomodo* fuerunt sepulti.

142 L: effugabant, B: affugaba(n)t

143 B: dem(o)nes

144 B: an(t)e

Saint Clement

fol.58r (1) (L 101a)
I. Clementi¹⁴⁵. *quomodo* fuit electus¹⁴⁶ *per sanctum* petrum.

fol.58r (2) (L 101b)
II. *quomodo* sedebat in heremo.

fol.58r (3) (L 101c)
III. *quomodo* fuit proiectus in mare

fol.58r (4) (L 101d)
III. *quomodo* angeli extraxeunt eum de mare¹⁴⁷.

Saint Peter of Verona

fol.59v (1) (L 102a)
I. petri¹⁴⁸ martiris¹⁴⁹ *quomodo* conduxit¹⁵⁰ aerem super
populos¹⁵¹ precalore¹⁵² (!).

fol.59v (2) (L 102b)
II. *quomodo* sanauit unum contractum.

fol.59v (3) (L 102c)
III. *quomodo* sanauit unum puerum de magna gula. et
patrem eius qui uomerat uermes pilosos.

fol.59v (4) (L 102d)
III. *quomodo* fuit martirizatus.

Saint Sixtus

fol.60r (1) (L 103a)
I. Sixti *quomodo* fuit ductus an[te] regem.

fol.60r (2) (L 103b)
II. *quomodo* faciebant adorare ydola

145 B: Clem(en)ti

146 B: el(e)ct(u)s

147 L: mari, B: mare

148 B: Pe(tr)i

149 B: m(arti)(ris)

150 L: conducit, B: c(on)dux(it)

151 B: p(o)p(u)los

152 L: percaldem (!), B: p(er) calo(r)e

fol.60r (3) (L 103c)
III. *quomodo* ducebantur *incarcerem*¹⁵³ (!) *cum* *discipulis*.

fol.60r (4) (L 103d)
IIII *quomodo* faciebant *iterum* adorare *ydola*.

fol.61v (1) (L 104a)
V. *quomodo* decollabant *eum* *cum* *discipulis*.

fol.61v (2) (L 104b)
Ultima *quomodo* fuit sepultus.

Saint Donatus

fol.61v (3) (L 104c)
I. Iuliani *quomodo* interfecerat *patrem*¹⁵⁴ et *matrem*.¹⁵⁵

fol.61v (4) (L 104d)
II. *quomodo* *confitetur* s.¹⁵⁶ *donatus* uno *peccata* sua.

fol.62r (1) (L 105a)
III. *quomodo* *donatus* eiecit *demoniacum*.

fol.62r (2) (L 105b)
IIII. *quomodo* resuscitavit *unam* *mortuam*

fol.62r (3) (L 105c)
V. *quomodo* fuit electus in *episcopum*¹⁵⁷

fol.62r (4) (L 105d)
VI. *quomodo* baptizabat *regem* *cum* *uxore*.

fol.63v (1) (L 106a)
VII. *quomodo* eicerat *draconem* de lacu.

fol.63v (2) (L 106b)
VIII. *quomodo* fecerat *pluuiam* *propter* *siccitatem*.

fol.63v (3) (L 106c)
IX. *quomodo* ducebatur ad decollandum

fol.63v (4) (L 106d)
X. *quomodo* fuit decollatus

Saint Stanislaw

fol.64r (1) (L 107a)
I. Stanizlai *quomodo* fuit electus¹⁵⁸ in *episcopum*.

fol.64r (2) (L 107b)
II. *quomodo* resuscitavit *petrum* *militem*.

fol.64r (3) (L 107c)
III. *quomodo* celebrabat *missam* et fuit mactatus in capite *cum* *gladio*.

fol.64r (4) (L 107d)
IIII. *quomodo* *corpus* *suum* *diuisum* et *incisum* fuit *per* *frustra*.

fol.65v (1) (L 108a)
V *quomodo* *aquile* *diuisum* *corpus* custodiebant.

fol.65v (2) (L 108b)
VI. *quomodo* fuit sepultus

fol.65v (3) (L 108c)
VII. *quomodo* *postmodum* *manifestauit* se *populo*

fol.65v (4) (L 108d)
Ultima¹⁵⁹ *quomodo* resuscitavit *filium* *unius* *hungari*.

Saint Demetrius

fol.66r (1) (L 109a)
I. *quomodo* *sanctus*¹⁶⁰ *Demetrius* predicabat *populo*

fol.66r (2) (L 109b)
II. *quomodo* *angelus* portauit *sibi* *coronam* *incarcerem*¹⁶¹ (!)

.....
153 B: ca(r)cere(m)
154 B: pat(r)em
155 B: mat(re)m
156 B: s(anctus)
157 B: ep(is)copu(m)

.....
158 B: elec(tus)
159 B: Ultima
160 B: s(an)c(tus)
161 L: carcere, B: ca(r)cere

Appendix B

fol.66r (3) (L 109c)

III. *quomodo* benedixit unum iuuenem ad pugnandum¹⁶² duellum

fol.66r (4) (L 109d)

IIII. *quomodo* idem iuuenis deuinxit

fol.67v (1) (L 110a)

V. *quomodo* idem iuuenis cum gladio regis interfecit illum.

fol.67v (2) (L 110b)

VI. *quomodo* s. De.¹⁶³ apparuit christus¹⁶⁴ in carcere

fol.67v (3) (L 110c)

VII. *quomodo* fuit interfectus.

fol.67v (4) (L 110d)

VIII. *quomodo* per anulum¹⁶⁵ suum et palium quando¹⁶⁶ tangebant homines curabantur

Saint Gerhard

fol.68r (1) (L 111a)

I. Gerardi *quomodo* uenerat¹⁶⁷ ante regem.

fol.68r (2) (L 111b)

II. *quomodo*¹⁶⁸ fuit in heremo.

fol.68r (3) (L 111c)

III. *quomodo*¹⁶⁹ fuit in episcopum electus

fol.68r (4) (L 111d)

IIII. *quomodo*¹⁷⁰ predicabat populo.

fol.69v (1) (L 112a)

V. *quomodo* ceperant ipsum et clericos interficiebant.

fol.69v (2) (L 112b)

VI. *quomodo* miserunt¹⁷¹ ipsum infra de monte pest.

fol.69v (3) (L 112c)

VII. *quomodo* currus ibat perse (!) cum corpore. ad Chanadinum.¹⁷²

fol.69v (4) (L 112d)

Vltima *quomodo* fuit sepultus.

Saint Thomas Becket

fol.70r (1) (L 113a)

I. Thome martiris. *quomodo* regi presentatur.

fol.70r (2) (L 113b)

II. *quomodo* scribit ante regem.

fol.70r (3) (L 113c)

III. *quomodo* fuit electus in episcopum

fol.70r (4) (L 113d)

IIII. *quomodo*¹⁷³ celebrabat missam

fol.71v (1) (L 114a)

V. *quomodo* beata uirgo consuebat sibi tunicam.

fol.71v (2) (L 114b)

VI. *quomodo* beata uirgo dicebat uno sacerdoti ut tunicam reciperet sibi banka et portaret s.¹⁷⁴ Thome.

fol.71v (3) (L 114c)

VII. *quomodo* celebrante missa est interfectus.

fol.71v (4) (L 114d)

Vltima *quomodo*¹⁷⁵ fuit sepultus.

162 B: pugnand(um)

163 L: s. de., B: s(ancto) De(metrio)

164 In the manuscript: x, L: christus, B: Christus

165 L: annulum, B: annulu(m)

166 L: quod, B: q(ua)n(do)

167 B: ven(e)rat

168 B: Q(uo)m(odo). Cf. fol. 16v (2) and fol. 69v (3)

169 B: Q(uo)m(odo)

170 B: Q(uo)m(odo)

171 B: miserunt

172 L: chanadinum, B: chanadinu(m)

173 B: Q(uo)m(odo)

174 B: sa(ncte)

175 B: Q(uo)m(odo)

Saint Sylvester

fol.72r (1) (L 115a)

I. Siluestri.¹⁷⁶ *quomodo* ducebatur in carcerem.

fol.72r (2) (L 115b)

II. *quomodo* disputabat cum iudeis

fol.72r (3) (L 115c)

III. *quomodo* Baptizabat¹⁷⁷ iudeos.

fol.72r (4) (L 115d)

IIII. *quomodo* dicebant sibi ut resuscitaret unum mortuum bouem et resuscitauit.

fol.73v (1) (L 116a)

V. *quomodo* extraxerat unum draconem de lacu.

fol.73v (2) (L 116b)

Vltima *quomodo* fuit sepultus.**Saint Gregory the Great**

fol.73v (3) (L 116c)

I. Gregorii. *quomodo* duxerunt ipsum extra de¹⁷⁸ heremo.

fol.73v (4) (L 116d)

II. *quomodo* fuit electus insummum (!) pontificem.**Saint Ambrose**

fol.74v (1) (L 118a)

I. Ambrosii. *quomodo* exiebant apes de ore.

fol.74v (2) (L 118b)

II. *quomodo* fuit electus in archiepiscopum

fol.74v (3) (L 118c)

III. *quomodo* predicabat populis. et angelus tenebat eum......
176 B: Silvest(r)i

177 L, B: baptizabat

178 B: de

fol.74v (4) (L 118d)

IIII. *quomodo* interficiebat ipsum unus et gladius¹⁷⁹ fuit incuruatus ad manus¹⁸⁰ ipsius.

fol.75r (1) (L 119a)

V. *quomodo* ipse ibat inuia (!). et hospes eius est submersus in terram cum tota domus eius.

fol.75r (2) (L 119b)

Vltima *quomodo* fuit sepultus.**Saint Augustine**

fol.75r (3) (L 119c)

I. Augustini *quomodo* scribebat ewangelia

fol.75r (4) (L 119d)

II. *quomodo*¹⁸¹ obiit.**Saint Jerome**

fol.76r (1) (L 121a)

I. Ieronimi *quomodo* scribebat ewangelia.

fol.76r (2) (L 121b)

II. *quomodo* fuit electus in papam

fol.76r (3) (L 121c)

III. *quomodo* fuit indutus in uestem mulieris et surrexerat ad matutinas.

fol.76r (4) (L 121d)

Vltima *quomodo* est sepultus in foueam.**Saint Martin**

fol.77v (1) (L 122a)

I. Martini *quomodo* diuisit palium¹⁸² pauperi......
179 B: gladiu(s)

180 L: manum, B: man(us)

181 B: Quom(od)o

182 L: pallium, B: palliu(m)

fol.77v (2) (L 122b)

II. *quomodo* resanauit unum infirmum

fol.77v (3) (L 122c)

III. *quomodo* liberauit unum suspensum.

fol.77v (4) (L 122d)

III. *quomodo* fuit electus in episcopum.

Saint Emeric

fol.78r (1) (L 131a)

I. S.¹⁸³ Emerici *quomodo* orabat circa duas lu[cernas].

fol.78r (2) (L 131b)

II. *quomodo* osculabat monachos.¹⁸⁴

fol.78r (3) (L 131c)

III. *quomodo* orabat in ecclesia (!) et illuminata fuit ecclesia.

fol.78r (4) (L 131d)

III. *quomodo* fuit sepultus.

fol.79v (1) (L 132a)

V. *quomodo* s. Eusebius uidit animam eius ferentem incelum (!).

fol.79v (2) (L 132b)

VI. *quomodo* Corardus iuit ad papam.¹⁸⁵

fol.79v (3) (L 132c)

VII. *quomodo* iuit ad sepulchrum.¹⁸⁶ s.¹⁸⁷ regis Stephani.¹⁸⁸ et sanctus rex

Stephanus¹⁸⁹ iussit ire ad sepulchrum filii sui

fol.79v (4) (L 132d)

VIII. *quomodo* iuit ad sepulchrum suum et est liberatus.

183 B: S(ancti)

184 L: monachos, B: monacos

185 B: papam

186 B: sepulch(rum), although this edition usually gives it as “r(um)” (e.g. in the second half of the same sentence). Cf. fol. 2v (1) and many other cases.

187 B: s(ancti)

188 B: Stephani

189 L: stephanus (although the same letter was identified as upper case in the first half of the sentence)

Saint Ladislav

fol.80r (1) (L 133a)

I. S.¹⁹⁰ regis ladizlai *quomodo* iuit in albam.

fol.80r (2) (L 133b)

II. *quomodo* fuit coronatus.

fol.80r (3) (L 133c)

III. *quomodo*¹⁹¹ ibat cum processione

fol.80r (4) (L 133d)

III. *quomodo* orabat ut exercitus suus fame non moreretur. et uenerunt animalia pro uictualibus

fol.81v (1) (L 134a)

V. *quomodo* cremabatur domus bissonorum per exercitum.

fol.81v (2) (L 134b)

VI. *quomodo* orabat in ecclesia.

fol.81v (3) (L 134c)

VII. *quomodo* orabat in ecclesia¹⁹² et dyabolus informa (!) mortui proiecit sibi pallium ad faciem.

fol.81v (4) (L 134d)

VIII. *quomodo* proiebat cum feretro.

fol.82r (1) (L 135a)

IX. *quomodo* portabat crucem contra¹⁹³ demonem.

fol.82r (2) (L 135b)

X. *quomodo* pugnabat cum tartaris.

fol.82r (3) (L 135c)

XI. *quomodo* fuit percussus cum conto.

fol.82r (4) (L 135d)

XII. *quomodo* tenebat per crines et puella incidebat pedes eius.

190 B: S(ancti)

191 B: Q(uo)m(odo)

192 B: ecc(lesi)a. The small “a” above the second “c” belongs the shortening.

193 B: c(on)t(r)a, as above.

fol.83v (1) (L 136a)
XIII. *quomodo* Cumanum depilabat *per* crines et puella
decollabat collum suum.

fol.83v (2) (L 136b)
XIIII. *quomodo* iacebat ingremio (!) puelle.

fol.83v (3) (L 136c)
XV. *quomodo*¹⁹⁴ *beata uirgo* medicat ipsum.

fol.83v (4) (L 136d)
XVI. *quomodo* eleuatus est in aerem.

fol.84r (1) (L 137a)
XVII. *quomodo* fuit osculatus¹⁹⁵ *cum* rege bohemie.

fol.84r (2) (L 137b)
XVIII. *quomodo* fuit obitus ipsius.

fol.84r (3) (L 137c)
XIX. *quomodo* currus ibat *cum* corpore Waradinum.

fol.84r (4) (L 137d)
XX. *quomodo* obuiauuerunt ipsum *cum* processione.

fol.85v (1) (L 138a)
XXI. *quomodo* fuit sepultus.

fol.85v (2) (L 138b)
XXII. *quomodo* populus adorabat *circa* sepulchrum.

fol.85v (3) (L 138c)
XXIII. *quomodo* unus nobilis *non* potuit accipere
scutellam argenteam.

fol.85v (4) (L 138d)
Vltima¹⁹⁶ *quomodo* pauper accepit scutellam

Saint Benedict

fol.86r (1) (L 139a)
I. Benedicti. *quomodo* dyabolus *fregit* tintinaculum.

194 B: Q(ou)m(odo)
195 L: osculatus, B: oscu(u)lat(us)
196 L, B: Ultima

fol.86r (2) (L 139b)
II. *quomodo* inuoluerat se inter spineas *propter* luxuriam.

fol.86r (3) (L 139c)
III. *quomodo* demones corizabant ante ipsum in uno
uirdario in forma puellarum

fol.86r (4) (L 139d)
IIII. *quomodo* unus dyabolus fregerat murum et lapis
interfecerat unum monachum.¹⁹⁷ et s. Be.¹⁹⁸ resuscitauit¹⁹⁹
ipsum.²⁰⁰

Saint Anthony the Great

fol.87r (1) (L 141a)
III. *quomodo* fuit eleuatus *per* angelos in a[e]rem.

fol.87r (2) (L 141b)
IIII *quomodo* unus dyabolus magne longitudinis²⁰¹ erat de
celo usque ad terram. et angeli portabant animas. demones
autem *infra* cadebant.²⁰²

fol.87r (3) (L 141c)
V. *quomodo* unus principes faciebat *percutere* clericos

fol.87r (4) (L 141d)
VI. *quomodo* equus²⁰³ (!) suus *interfecit* ipsum.

Saint Bernard of Clairvaux

fol.88v (1) (L 142a)
I. Bernardy. *quomodo*²⁰⁴ christus²⁰⁵ manifestauit *sibi* horam
natiuitatis sue.

197 B: mo(n)ach(um)

198 B: s(anctus) Be(nedictus)

199 B: resuscitavit

200 B: ip(su)m. Cf. fol. 16v (1) and many other cases: the same is transcribed
as "ip(sum)".

201 B: lo(n)gitudi(nis)

202 In the facsimile of L it is not visible but Levárdy transcribed. B: cadeba(nt)

203 L, B: equus

204 B: Q(uomod)o

205 In the manuscript: x, L: christus, B: Christus

fol.88v (2) (L 142b)

II. *quomodo* iacebat²⁰⁶ cum sorore sua. et occulte surgens posuit se *inaquam* (!). ut *fornicacio*²⁰⁷ *sibi non eueniret*.²⁰⁸

fol.88v (3) (L 142c)

III. *quomodo* fugebat ipse²⁰⁹ ante sororem suam.

fol.88v (4) (L 142d)

III. *quomodo* ipse sororem suam fecit munialem.

fol.89r (1) (L 143a)

V. *quomodo* faciebat scribere inpluuia (!). et pluuiam non nocebat.

fol.89r (2) (L 143b)

VI. *quomodo* portauerat uno comiti corpus²¹⁰ christi²¹¹ super²¹² unam patenam. et hoc uiso cecidit ad pedes eius.

fol.89r (3) (L 143c)

VII. *quomodo* narrabat fratribus de morte sua

fol.89r (4) (L 143d)

Vltima *quomodo* fuit sepultus:

Saint Dominic

fol.90v (1) (L 144a)

I. *Dominicy*²¹³ (!). *quomodo* mater eius uidit in sompnis (!) quod unus catulus habebat unam faciem ardentem in ore (!) suo

fol.90v (2) (L 144b)

II. *quomodo* numquam²¹⁴ iacebat²¹⁵ in lecto suo.

fol.90v (3) (L 144c)

III. *quomodo* diuidebat bona ipsius pauperibus

206 L, B: iacebat

207 B: fornicat(io)

208 L: euenit, B: eve(n)it

209 B: ip(se)

210 B: corp(or)e

211 In the manuscript: x., L: christi, B: Christi

212 B: s(up)er

213 B: D(omi)nicii

214 L: nunquam, B: numq(am)

215 L: iacebat, B: jacebat

fol.90v (4) (L 144d)

III. *quomodo* beata uirgo presentauit sanctum dominicum cum sancto francisco christo²¹⁶ filio suo.

Saint Francis of Assisi

fol.91r (1) (L 149a)

IX. *quomodo* ipse flagellat seipsum nudum et post hec posuit se innuere (!) magnam.

fol.91r (2) (L 149b)

X. *quomodo* demones cruciabant ipsum.

fol.91r (3) (L 149c)

XI. *quomodo* christus²¹⁷ apparuit sibi informa (!) Serafin.

fol.91r (4) (L 149d)

XII. *quomodo* sanauit unum qui fuit fixus in gutture (!) cum gladio

Saint Louis of Toulouse

fol.92r (1) (L 151a)

V. *quomodo* pascebat .XXti.²¹⁸ quinque pauperes.

fol.92r (2) (L 151b)

VI. *quomodo* portabant sibi corpus christi²¹⁹ cum cruce.

fol.92r (3) (L 151c)

VII. *quomodo* una ceciderat de asino.

fol.92r (4) (L 151d)

VIII. *quomodo* eadem domina peperit duas filias.

Saint Brice

fol.93v (1) (L 154a)

I. Briccii *quomodo* fuit electus in episcopatum.

216 In the manuscript: xpo, L: christo, B: Christo

217 In the manuscript: xpc, L: christus, B: Christe

218 L: virginti, B: viginti

219 In the manuscript: x, with a small "i" above; L: christi, B: Christi

fol.93v (2) (L 154b)

II. *quomodo* fuit lapidatus in carcere.

fol.93v (3) (L 154c)

III. *quomodo* una meretrix dicebat ut esset²²⁰ filius suus.

fol.93v (4) (L 154d)

Ultima *quomodo* portabat ignem ingremio (!) ad sepulchrum sancti Martini.

Saint Giles

fol.94r (1) (L 155a)

I. Egidii *quomodo* dedit tunicam pauperi.

fol.94r (2) (L 155b)

II. *quomodo* liberauit demoniacum

fol.94r (3) (L 155c)

III. *quomodo* liberauit nautos

fol.94r (4) (L 155d)

IIII. *quomodo* fuit sagittatus uolente ceruo sagittare

fol.95v (1) (L 156a)

V. *quomodo* uenerunt ad ipsum unus rex et unus episcopus.

fol.95v (2) (L 156b)

VI. *quomodo* celebrabat missam et angelus dedit sibi cedulam.

fol.95v (3) (L 156c)

VII. *quomodo* resuscitauit filium cuiusdam²²¹ principis.

fol.95v (4) (L 156d)

VIII. *quomodo* angelus dicebat sibi de obituo suo.

Saint Alexis

fol.96r (1) (L 157a)

I. Alexi.²²² *quomodo* recessit ab uxore sua.

220 L: erat, B: er(at)

221 L: cuidam, B: cui(us)da(m)

222 L: Alexi, B: Alexi

fol.96r (2) (L 157b)

II. *quomodo* dedit bona sua pauperibus.²²³

fol.96r (3) (L 157c)

III. *quomodo* hic sedet cum pauperibus.

fol.96r (4) (L 157d)

IIII. *quomodo* mater²²⁴ sua post recessum suum nunquam iacuit in lecto.

Saint Eustace

fol.97v (1) (L 160a)

V. *quomodo* unus leo recepit sibi unum filium. et lupus secundum²²⁵.

fol.97v (2) (L 160b)

VI. *quomodo*²²⁶ inuenerat uxorem suam cum filiis suis.

fol.97v (3) (L 160c)

VII. *quomodo* duxerant sibi leonem ut deuorarent eos.

fol.97v (4) (L 160d)

Ultima *quomodo* fuerunt positi in ereo boue cupreo. ut cremarentur et exierunt illese.

Saint Paul the Hermit

fol.98r (1) (L 161a)

I. heremite sancti pauli *quomodo* uidit duos unum in miseria et alium in solatio magno²²⁷.

fol.98r (2) (L 161b)

II. *quomodo* unus lupus conduxit sanctum antonium ad cellam sancti pauli.

fol.98r (3) (L 161c)

III. *quomodo* unus coruus portabat ipsis dupplices cibos

223 L: papuperibus, B: pau(er)ib(us)

224 B: m(at)er

225 L elhagyja, B: s(ecundum)

226 B: Q(uo)m(odo)

227 L: magis, B: mag(n)o

fol.98r (4) (L 161d)

Vltima *quomodo* leones sepelierunt eum cum sancto antonio

Saint Remy

fol.99v (1) (L 162a)

I. Remedii. *quomodo* fuit electus in archiepiscopum

fol.99v (2) (L 162b)

II. *quomodo* augmentauit uinum cuiusdam matrone

fol.99v (3) (L 162c)

III. *quomodo* maritum nep[ot]is sue elegit in episcopum et ipsam in munialem.

fol.99v (4) (L 162d)

IIII. *quomodo* ipsa iuerat ad uisitandum episcopum quondam maritum suum

fol.100r (1) (L 163a)

V. *quomodo* s.²²⁸ hylarius habuit²²⁹ .II. filios unum²³⁰ nomine latro.²³¹ et aliam nomine Wulpis.²³²

fol.100r (2) (L 163b)

VI. *quomodo* s. hy.²³³ cecidit ad pedes sancti Remigy²³⁴

fol.100r (3) (L 163c)

VII. *quomodo* angelus²³⁵ et sanctus Remedius extraxerunt²³⁶ sanctum Hylarium extra de carcere²³⁷ ante terminum.

fol.100r (4) (L 163d)

VIII. *quomodo* sanctus Latro²³⁸ uidelicet filius s. Hylary²³⁹ fuit in episcopum electus

228 L: s., B: s(anctus)

229 L: huic, B: h(ab)uit

230 L: unum, B: un(us)

231 B: lat(r)o

232 L: Wulpiculam, B: W(u)lpi(culam)

233 B: s(anctus) Hy(larius)

234 L: Remigii, B: Remigy

235 B: ang(e)l(us)

236 L: extraxerunt, B: extraceru(n)t

237 B: car(ce)re

238 L: latro, B: Lat(r)o

239 L: s. Hylari, B: s(ancti) Hylarii

Saint Hilary

fol.101v (1) (L 164a)

I. Hylarii. *quomodo* seruiebat filia sua in habitu²⁴⁰ (!) laycali monialibus.

fol.101v (2) (L 164b)

II. *quomodo* fuit s. Hy²⁴¹ in episcopum electus.

fol.101v (3) (L 164c)

III. *quomodo* infugabat serpentes subter terram.

fol.101v (4) (L 164d)

IIII. *quomodo*²⁴² orabat ut filia sua in uirginitate (!) moreretur.

fol.102r (1) (L 165a)

V. *quomodo* orabat ut mater puelle etiam²⁴³ moreretur.

fol.102r (2) (L 165b)

VI. *quomodo* disputabat cum papa. et fuit papa ibidem mortuus.

fol.102r (3) (L 165c)

VII. *quomodo* sex episcopi²⁴⁴ supplicabant sibi.²⁴⁵ et benedixit eis.

fol.102r (4) (L 165d)

Vltima *quomodo* fuit sepultus.

Saint Mary Magdalene

fol.103v (1) (L 168a)

IX. *quomodo* fregebat ydola.

fol.103v (2) (L 168b)

X. *quomodo* fuit eleuata in aerem per angelos.

240 L omits "in", B: i(n)

241 L: s. hy, B: s(anctus) Hy(larius)

242 B: Q(uo)m(odo)

243 L omits, B: et

244 B: e(piscop)i

245 L. sancti, B: s(ibi)

fol.103v (3) (L 168c)

XI. *quomodo* corpus christi²⁴⁶ recipiebat

fol.103v (4) (L 168d)

Vltima *quomodo* fuit sepulta.

fol.104r (1) (L 169a)

XIII. *quomodo* unus miles fuit *inexercitu*²⁴⁷ (!) mortuus *sine confessione*. et resuscitauit et recepit²⁴⁸ corpus christi.²⁴⁹ et iterum mortuus.

fol.104r (2) (L 169b)

XIIII. *quomodo* unus scripserat peccata sua in unam (!) cedula*m*. et sunt deleta.

fol.104r (3) (L 169c)

XV. *quomodo* extraxit unum de carcere

fol.104r (4) (L 169d)

XVI. *quomodo* unus clericus circa sepulchrum eius ueniam optinuit²⁵⁰ de peccatis suis

Saint Catherine of Alexandria

fol.104r (1) (L 170a)

I. Katherine *quomodo* docebat puellas

fol.104r (2) (L 170b)

II. *quomodo* disputat cum rege ante ydola.

fol.104r (3) (L 170c)

III. *quomodo* disputat cum magistris ante regem et postea fuerunt conuersi.

fol.104r (4) (L 170d)

IIII. *quomodo* idem fuerunt cremati. et uestibus ipsorum ignis non nocuit.

246 In the manuscript: xpi, L: christi, B: Christi

247 L: exercitu, B: ex(er)citu(s)

248 L: recepit, B: recep(it)

249 In the manuscript x and a small "i" above; L: christi, B: Christi

250 L, B: obtinuit

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NOTE

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Dispersed in two continents, four countries and six collections; many of its pages were cropped, cut into four, or lost forever; its history, origin, commissioner and audience are obscure; still, in its fragmented state it presents fifty-eight legends on folios fully covered by miniatures, richly gilded, using only one side of the fine parchment; a luxurious codex worthy of a ruler; a unique iconographic treasury of medieval legends; one of the most significant manuscripts of the medieval Hungarian Kingdom—these are all what we call the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.

The largest part of what remained of the codex was bound together in the eighteenth century in a volume housed in the Vatican Library. Some of the missing pages, often incomplete, have resurfaced in different parts of the world only to disappear again, finding their way into collections from the United States to Russia. Their common origin has only been discovered in the course of modern research. Those, who were privileged enough in the fourteenth century to page this codex, were probably interested in the identity of the saints they revered, their lives, and their accomplishments. For today's observers, however, the primary role of the surviving codex pages is rather to illuminate the way people in the fourteenth century viewed them. This book seeks to answer these emerging questions through a study of the visual program of the Hungarian Angevin Legendary.



Central European University Press
Budapest – New York

Sales and information:
ceupress@press.ceu.edu
Website: <http://www.ceupress.com>